

Vladimir Minorsky's

Caucasica Articles

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[Caucasica IV](#), from Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XV, 3(1953) pp. 504-529. [Discusses Sahl ibn Sunbat of Shakki and Arran; the Caucasian vassals of Marzuban in 344/955], in 27 pdf pages.



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Caucasica in the History of Mayyāfāriqīn

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Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1949), pp. 27-35

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609061>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:53 UTC

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Caucasica in the History of Mayyāfāriqīn

By V. MINORSKY

MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN, a small town situated on one of the left tributaries of the Tigris, at 70 km. to the north-east of Āmid (Diyārbakr), owed its importance to its situation on a short road connecting Armenia (Mush) with Upper Mesopotamia. It is probable that the ancient capital of Armenia, Tigranocerta, built by Tigran II *circa* 80 B.C., stood in the immediate neighbourhood of Mayyāfāriqīn.¹

In Islamic times Mayyāfāriqīn had a historian, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, who wrote shortly after 572/1176. The only two copies of this curious work belong to the British Museum.² The detailed description of the work and the first systematic presentation of its contents belong to that accurate British historian H. F. Amedroz, who has so considerably increased our knowledge of the medieval Arabic sources for the Near East.³ Numerous passages from Ibn al-Azraq are quoted by Amedroz in the footnotes of his edition of Ibn al-Qalānīsī (1908). In more recent years M. Canard has published six passages of the history of Mayyāfāriqīn relative to Sayf al-daula⁴ and Claude Cahen has summed up its rich information on the early *Artuqids.⁵

These preparatory works will greatly help the future editor of the Mayyāfāriqīn chronicle. His task will not be easy, for the two versions are defective and divergent, and the best plan will be to print them in parallel columns. The script of Or. 6310 is very cursive and devoid of dots; that of Or. 5803 is defaced towards the end. The scribes were negligent even in geographical and personal names. The grammar of the author (or of his copyists) is lax and may occupy the attention of some student of vulgar Arabic in Upper Mesopotamia.⁶

The object of the present article is limited to grouping together the passages

¹ See Minorsky, "Maiyāfāriqīn" in *EI.*, and A. Manandian, *Tigran II i Rim*, Yerevan, 1943, pp. 42–6.

² Or. 5803 (200 fol. almost complete), and Or. 6310 (covering only 170 ff. of Or. 5803 in a slightly abridged form, and with numerous variants). It is likely, however, that Or. 6310 represents the original draft of the chronicler. A table of concordances of the two MSS. prepared by Amedroz is attached to Or. 6310.

³ See his articles in the *JRAS.*, 1902, 783–812 (general account of the History of Mayyāfāriqīn), and 1903, 123–154 (history of the Marwānids) with an appendix by J. Marquart, *ibid.*, 1909, 170–6.

⁴ Sayf al-daula, *Recueil de textes*, Alger, 1934, 71–8, 208–10, 257, 276–280, 283–5.

⁵ *JA.*, October 1935, 219–276. The former reading *Ortuq* is apparently incorrect but the Georgian chronicle, Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i/1, 369, spells *Ordukh*.

⁶ One can quote: (a) such irregularities in numerals as: عشرة فوارس، عشرة الف دينار; (b) verbs in the plural before collective nouns: وثبوا الأكراد; وثبوا القسوس; (c) the use of rigid وكان اجتمعت، وكان قد نقذوا: كان.

bearing on Caucasian affairs. The great interest of Ibn al-Azraq is that he had a personal knowledge of Transcaucasia, for in 548–9/1153–4 he was in the employment of the king of Georgia Dimitri (1125–1156). On Armenia he was well informed through his association with the Turkoman rulers (the Artuqids, the Shāh-Arman of Akhlāt and the lesser amirs). At the period when he lived the Christian kingdom of Georgia, under its *Abkhazian dynasty¹ was rapidly rising to the zenith of its power. The strong kings of the Bagratid dynasty were :—

David IV the Restorer (1089–1125)
his son Dimitri I (1125–1156)
his son Giorgi III (1156–1184).

By that time the great Seljuks were gone and their *epigoni* were eclipsed by their former vassals. The latter, when united, represented a serious force, but the Georgians, with their allies and vassals from Northern Caucasus (the Qipchaq Turks), could cope with any ephemeral coalitions. Only with the rise of the atabeks of Azarbayjan (the Eldiguzids) was a brake put on the Georgian expansion in two directions: to the South—towards the Armenian lands deprived of their independence by the Muslims; and to the East—towards the Caspian sea. It is true that the rulers of Shirvan had been linked to the Georgians by family ties; but Ganja,² on the Georgians' right flank, formed a brake on the forward policy of the Christian kings.

The highest point of expansion was reached in the reign of Giorgi III's daughter, the famous Queen Tamar (1184–1213); but she died on the eve of great ordeals. The Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-dīn, whom the Mongols had driven beyond the Indus, suddenly appeared in north-western Iran, expelled the last Eldiguzid, invaded Georgia, took Tiflis, and temporarily confused the local issues. The Mongols were close on his heels and in 1220 the Georgians clashed with their vanguard for the first time. As in Persia and in Russia, the shroud of Mongol domination veiled the national life of Georgia.

The general tenour of the passages quoted below is mostly known from H. F. Amedroz's articles (see above), but an unabridged translation will clear up not a few details. Ibn al-Azraq's original passages are important, as they are often the source of the later epitomizers, such as Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī (d. in 654/1256), Ibn Shaddād (wrote in 679/1280), and al-'Ayni (d. in 855/1451).³

¹ In this case *Abkhāz* has no ethnical meaning. In 975 the Bagratid prince Bagrat, whose mother was an Abkhazian princess, succeeded to the throne of Abkhazia. In 1008 he ascended the throne of Georgia (Karthli) and thus united the two kingdoms. The Bagratid family, native of Sper, in the Chorokh basin, ruled in Armenia, Georgia, and several other places.

² First under the Kurdish Shaddādids and then under the Seljuk princes and governors. On the Shaddādids see now Kasravi, *Pādshahān-i gum-nām*, iii, Tehran, 1308/1929.

³ Cf. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie* (i, St. Petersburg, 1849–1851), still unsurpassed in its wealth of quotations, and Defrémery's selection of Muslim texts on Transcaucasia, *JA.*, 1849, xii, 457–523 (chiefly I. Athir, years 514, 429, 517, 548, 550, 556, 557–8, 561, 599, 601, 602, 603, 605, 618, 619, 620, 622, 623, 624). The continuation of the series: 1849, xiv, 447–514; 1850, xvi, 50–75, 153–201; 1851, xvii, 105–162, does not bear on our subject.

I

The important passage which I quote in the first place has been known in the versions of Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī (Defrémery, loc. cit., 485) and al-‘Ayni (Brosset, loc. cit., i/2, 239). The latter quotes Ibn Shaddād, and as H. F. Amedroz has established, he in his turn “drew from Ibn Azraq about a quarter of his contents”. The victory of King David the Restorer (1089–1125) took place in 1121–2 when Ibn al-Azraq must have been five years old, but the fact that in 1153 he visited the battlefield shows his interest in the event, and he must have had an account of it both from the Artuqid and the Georgian side, when recollections were still fresh.

After the Muslim conquest (in the second half of the seventh century) Tiflis was for a long time ruled by Arab governors.¹ Towards 215/850 Ishaq b. Ismā‘il (of Quraysh origin) became independent in Tiflis and the Caliph Mutawakkil sent against him his Turkish general, Bugha, who took the town in the autumn of 238/852.² Though surrounded by Christian territory the city remained in the hands of the Muslims, and between 210/825 and 331/942 Abbasid dirhams were struck in Tiflis. In 421/1030 the Georgians made an alliance with the Amir Ja‘far of Tiflis, but soon King Bagrat IV (1027–1072) invested Tiflis, and after the death of Ja‘far was admitted into the town.³ In December 1068 the Seljuk sultan Alp-Arslan conquered Tiflis and gave it to the Shaddādid Faḍlūn, the former lord of Ganja. His rule was soon interrupted by the Georgians, but again Bagrat established in Tiflis a *Sithlaraba* (*Sayyid al-‘Arab ?).⁴ It was only in 515/1121–2 that King David II “the Restorer” finally occupied Tiflis, but the names of local “amirs”, apparently offspring of the house of Ja‘far, are mentioned even in later times.

Ibn al-Azraq places the beginning of the rule of the Ja‘farids *circa* 315/927. We have no information on the origin of the Amir Ja‘far and do not know whether he was related to Ishaq ibn Ismā‘il. The forty years’ anarchy in Tiflis, of which our author speaks, should fit into the period between Faḍlūn’s uneasy, and apparently short, rule in Tiflis (after 1068) and the year 1121.

The detail of the appearance in Tiflis of a “protector” sent by Tughril ibn Muhammad is curious. This Seljuk king ruled only a short time, 526–8/1132–4, and the event must have taken place during the time when he sojourned in Arrān (the present day Soviet Azarbayjan) under the tutorship of his atabek Kūn-toghdi.

The promise of the Seljuk Tughril ibn Muhammad to take part in the raid gives some interesting correspondences. When his brother Maḥmūd ascended

¹ See Minorsky, “Tiflis” in *EI*. The Georgian chronicle, Brosset, i/1, 367, is only approximate in saying that in 1122 David occupied “la ville de Tiflis qui avait été 400 ans au pouvoir des Persans”.

² See Minorsky, “Transcaucasica,” *JA.*, juillet 1930, pp. 57–62 (where the detailed passage of Ṭabari, iii, 1414–16, is translated).

³ Under 429/1037–8, I. Athir, ix, 311, says only that the Abkhaz king besieged Tiflis but had to abandon the siege for fear of the Ghuz.

⁴ Brosset, loc. cit., i/1, 334.

the throne in 511/1118 Tughril was but a child. His first atabek was Shīr-gīr, lord of Zanjān and Abhar, but Kūn-toghdī got hold of his fief and took over his charge (I.A., x, 414; Bundari, 123). After Sanjar's visit to Rayy, Tughril received a fief consisting of Sāva, Qazvīn, Zanjān, Daylam, and Gilān (Bundari, 134). In 514 Tughril (or rather his atabek) revolted against Maḥmūd, moved into Azarbaijan and occupied Ganja. Kūn-toghdī died in Shawwal 515/Dec. 1121 and, although Tughril was supported by Shīrgīr and the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadīl,¹ the revolt soon petered out. Consequently the reference of Ibn al-Azraq to Tughril as lord of Ganja and Arrān, is fully within the limits of the year A.D. 1121. The impossibility for Tughril to arrive before Tiflis must find an explanation in the fact that his plans were frustrated by the troops sent against him by Sultan Maḥmūd from Baghdad.² In Muharram 516 (March 1122) Tughril submitted to Maḥmūd (I.A., x, 421).

Our text suggests that after having sought protection from Tughril, the people of Tiflis admitted a "protector" sent by the king of Georgia. Against the latter they appealed to the Artuqid El-Ghāzī—with the result described in the passage quoted below.

On the reign of King Dimitri, both the official Georgian Annals (Brosset, i/1, 381) and the Armenian historians (Brosset, i/2, 244–8) give only very scanty information.³ The distinguished numismatist Professor E. A. Pakhomov writes: "It is known that he succeeded in ousting the Seljuk garrisons from some fortresses in Georgia (Dmanisi, etc.) and in raiding some eastern marches. The trophy of his expedition to Ganja was the iron gate of that town still kept in the Gelathi monastery. On the other hand Dimitri lost Ani, temporarily conquered by his father. The Georgian chronicle is silent on his relations with the Seljuks, but the coins bear incontrovertible evidence of the fact that he

¹ See Minorsky, "Marāgha" in *EI*.

² I. Athir's account of the events (x, 398 and 434) is brief and in details differs from Ibn al-Azraq's. He first records Georgian raids against Muslims. The rulers interested, and among them Tughril, master of Arrān and Nakhichevan, and his atabek Kūn-toghdī, made a concerted plan for an expedition. A feigned surrender of some Qipchaqs provoked confusion in the ranks of the Muslims. Tughril is mentioned among those who escaped from the battle in 514/1120–1. After it David's siege of Tiflis lasted till 515. In 516 refugees, especially from Derbend in Shirvan, implored Sultan Maḥmūd to take the field against the Georgians. Mahmud marched from Hamadan to Shamākhī. His vazir Shams al-mulk 'Othmān (son of Nizām al-mulk) was against further action, but the Georgians quarrelled with the Qipchaqs and after a time the sultan (in Jamādi ii 517/August 1123) returned to Hamadan. Cf. also Ibn Qalānisi, 205.

³ A newly found "History of the kings Demetrius I, George III, Tamar, and George IV" was published in Georgian by Professor Javakhishvili, Tiflis, 1927. See Prince C. Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature" in *Traditio*, i, 1943, pp. 139–182 (especially p. 157), and v, 1947, p. 342. [Additional Note.—Prince Toumanoff has kindly sent me the translation of a passage on Dimitri I's reign from Queen Ann's Chronicle (discovered in 1927, and published by the Georgian Academy in 1942), pp. 237–9. The new text only says that still in the reign of David his son Dimitri was sent to "Sharvan" where "he waged battles which filled the eye-witnesses with wonder". In A.D. 1130 (A.H. 624) he put to flight the men of Sukhman (Suqmān) and slaughtered the heads of the whole "Persiandom" (*sparsel'obisa*). At that time "Persian" was synonymous with Muslim. The new source adds nothing to Ibn al-Azraq's account.]

had to recognize his dependence upon the Muslims, as symbolized by the names of the caliph and the Seljuks of Iraq which appear on his coins.”

In general, after the capture of Tiflis in 1122 and the transfer to that town of the capital, and apparently of the Mint, too, the influence of the Muslims increases considerably. Relations with the neighbouring countries become very lively; Arabic begins to play the rôle of the diplomatic language, as suggested by Ibn al-Azraq's engagement as the king's secretary. Arabic legends appear on Georgian coins, which lose their links with the Byzantine type of coins and take on a Muslim appearance. The Byzantine titles of the kings disappear altogether.

One of Dimitri's coins bears on the obverse *malik al-mulūk* (in Arabic) *D.* (in Georgian), and on the reverse *Mahmūd ibn Muḥammad* [1118–1131]. Another coin bears: *malik al-mulūk Ḥisām al-Masīḥ Dimītri* (in Arabic) with a Georgian *D* in the middle, and on the reverse *al-Muqtafī li-amri 'Ulāhi amīr al-mu'minīn* [1136–1160] and (probably): *Mas'ūd* [1133–1152].¹

Such a situation explains the extreme cautiousness of Dimitri in his treatment of his Muslim subjects.

A very curious echo of Dimitri's diplomatic relations is found at an unexpected place, in the chronicle of the town of Bayhaq in Khorasan.² “In Safar 543/June–July 1148, the king of Abkhāz Dīmītriyūs, son of Dāvūd, son of Ya'qūb (?), surnamed the Sword of Messiah (*Ḥisām al-Masīḥ*), through his personal envoy, sent some questions to the supreme sultan Sanjar ibn Malikshāh, may God hallow his spirit. I was ordered to write an answer in Arabic and Syrian, for they had written those questions in these two languages. Copies of those questions and of my answers have travelled to the remote parts of the world and caravans carried them (*wa sāra bihā al-rabb*).” The Arabic letter must have been written by a predecessor of Ibn al-Azraq (who reached Georgia only in 1153).

For my translation I follow the more complete Or. 5803, but in doubtful places I prefer the readings of Or. 6310, which invariably make better sense.³

(Or. 5803, *f. 160b*) *Record of the administration of Najm al-dīn El-Ghāzī* (500–516) *and his reign in Mīfarqīn*. . . .⁴

(Or. 5803, *f. 161a*, line 21 = Or. 6310, *f. 102a*, line 7) It is reported that in the year 515 (A.D. 1121–2) the people of Tiflis sent to Najm al-dīn El-Ghāzī inviting him (to come) that they might surrender to him Tiflis. For forty years the latter had been in the hands of the population (*kāna lāha biyadi ahlihā*). Its possessors (*mullāk*) had been a family (*qarum*) of local people called Banū-Ja'far for about 200 years, after which the senior members among them became ruined and (their affairs) got into confusion and the administration of Tiflis reverted to the population (*f. 161b*) of whom every month one administered

¹ Pakhomov, “Moneti Gruzii”, *Zap. Numizm. Otd. Imp. Ross. Archeol. Obshch.*, i/4, 1910, 1–132, see pp. 81–6.

² Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Tehran, 1317/1938, p. 163.

³ See the Arabic text reproduced in a footnote in Ibn al-Qalānisī, ed. Amedroz, pp. 205–6.

⁴ In Ibn al-Azraq's text this name is spelt mostly *Mīfarqīn*, side by side with the more formal *Mayyāfāriqīn*. Cf. in Syriac *Mīpherkēf*.

its affairs. Thus they carried on for forty years. Malik Dāvūd, (who) was the king of the Gurj and the Abkhāz [1089–1125], brought the town to great straits and it got into confusion. So the people had already sent to Sultan Tughril, son of Sultan Muhammad, who was the king of Janzē and Arrān, and he sent them a protector (*shihna*),¹ but the oppression of the king of the Gurj continued.² Thus they carried on for a time and they agreed to pay him every year 10,000 dinars³ on the express condition that (they should receive) a protector with ten horsemen. And thus (too) they carried on for a period. Then they sent an invitation to Najm al-dīn El-Ghāzī and he left with a large army. He was accompanied by Dubays b. Šadaqa,⁴ king of the Arabs, who was Najm al-dīn's son-in-law, being married to the latter's daughter Guhār-khātūn,⁵ and who had joined him during that year.⁶ So he left with the army [and sent to Shams al-daula Tughan-Arslan, lord of Arzīn and Bidlis, to whom belonged the town *Duwīn (spelt : *madīna Dawayn*), and ordered him to enter Tiflis from the eastern side].⁷ Then he moved on and took with him the qāḍī 'Alam al-dīn, son of Nubāta—whose son, the qāḍī 'Alam al-dīn Abul-Faṭḥ al-Kabīr, is at present the qāḍī of Mārdīn⁸—and the vazir Abū Tammām ibn 'Abdūn, who also left with (the king). They arrived in Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerum) where the qāḍī and the vazir quarrelled. Najm al-dīn with his army entered through the province (*wilāya*) of al-Ghars (Kars),⁹ and along the road of *Tharyālīth (Thrialethi).¹⁰ It was agreed that the whole army should meet at the gate of Tiflis. And Sultan Tughril-bek made preparations from the direction of Janzē (Ganja). Tughan-Arslan the Hunchback (*al-aḥḍab*) moved forth from *Duwīn.

Najm al-din got so far that between him and Tiflis there (remained) only a mountain of half-a-day's journey. Then from the western side King Dāvūd sallied forth accompanied by his son Dīmīṭrī, with a great army. He rode down

¹ I think that the meaning "protector" is here fully attested for the term *shihna* (the origin of the latter is still obscure).

² The passage is not clear in Or. 5803 but Or. 6310, f. 102b, is unequivocal : *mā zālat*.

³ In this case the king of Georgia must be meant. After a period of insufficient help from Tughril the people of Tiflis turned to the oppressor himself and, under the pretext of protection, paid him a considerable tribute.

⁴ Or. 6310 adds : *al-Mazyadī*.

⁵ *Guhār*, to render the Persian-Turkish pronunciation of the name *Gauhar*, with the stress on the last syllable.

⁶ Dubays [1108–1135] intrigued against Sultan Maḥmūd. The latter marched on Ḥilla in Shawwāl 514/Dec. 1120–Jan. 1121, and Dubays fled to El-Ghāzī, see I. Athīr, x, 398.

⁷ Or. 6310 omits this passage. Then it suddenly says that Tughril moved from Janzē and "*Fakhr al-dīn* Tughan Arslan al-Aḥḍab from the region (*nāhiya*) of Duvin". Their further participation in the campaign is not specified. Consequently in Or. 5803, I suspect some confusion between the Duvin belonging to Arzan (i.e. to the valley situated between the river of Bitlis and that of Mayyafarqīn), see C. Cahen, loc. cit., 224, and the ancient Armenian capital Duwīn/Dvin, lying north of the Araxes, within the limits of Arrān, see Yāqūt sub verbo *Dabīl*. Either al-Aḥḍab had to cross the Araxes (no small operation!) to march in agreement with Tughril, or the original reference is not to al-Aḥḍab but to some "*Fakhr ad-dīn*" connected with the northern Dvin!

⁸ Or. 6310, f. 102b, does not indicate that the son accompanied his father—as Or. 5803 suggests (*ma'ahu*)—but only that he was the qāḍī of Mārdīn at the author's time.

⁹ Thus spelt also in Juvaynī, ii, 161.

¹⁰ Thrialethi—a district to the south of the Kur, upstream from Gori. The invaders must have reached the Kur *via* Kars-Ardahan-Akhalkalaki. The Georgian annals mention also Manglis and Did-Gor(n)i, Brosset, loc. cit., i/1, 366.

upon (the Muslims) from the mountain, whereas they were standing at its foot and neither the army of Sultan Tughril nor Shams al-dīn the Hunchback with his troops had arrived. They fought a great fight. Najm al-dīn was taken prisoner and many of his people were killed. The infidels took from them an enormous booty. [Then ?] Najm al-dīn (and Dubays) escaped with a small troop, (but) down to the present time there have remained prisoners with (the Georgians).

{I saw ¹ the battle-field when in the year 548/1153 I entered Tifis and stayed in it. Then I joined the service of the king of the Abkhaz and remained with him.

I went forth with him and travelled together with him in his country (*wilāya*) for some 70 days. He went on to the al-Lān (Alan), to the side of Darband and to the country (*wilāya*) of the Abkhāz.² And after some days in the country of the Abkhaz we arrived at a spacious tower under a mountain, within a lofty fortress where the king alighted (Or. 6310 *fa-nazala al-malik hunāka*). Said to me the king of the Abkhāz: "O so-and-so, in this fortress there is a captive who has become estranged (**mustaghrib*) from his people (and El-Ghāzī).³ So go up to-morrow to see him and ask him from where he is." And I made up my mind concerning this matter and said (to myself): "I shall ask the king to let him go his way". I spent that night, but when the morning came the trumpet (*f. 162a*) of departure was sounded because news had been brought to the king that some part of his kingdom had revolted against him. And when this news came he rode off and the people rode off and it became impossible for me to meet the man.} . . . ⁴

And when Najm al-dīn was defeated and returned with his companions, the king of the Abkhaz departed with the booty and the prisoners and halted before Tifis which he invested for some time. Then he breached the walls from the western side and entered the town (*f. 163a*) by the sword (*sayfan*). He burnt it and utterly destroyed it, but after three days granted *amān* to its people and soothed their hearts and left them alone, in all goodness. For that year he abrogated their taxes, services (*al-mu'an*), payments by instalments (*aqṣāt*) and the *kharāj*. He guaranteed to the Muslims everything they wished, according to the pact which is valid even to-day. In it (it is stipulated) that pigs ⁵ should not be brought over to the Muslim side nor to the town, and that they should not be slaughtered there or in the market. He struck dirhams for them, on one side of which stood the names of the sultan and the

¹ I put in { } brackets the personal experiences of the author under King Dimitri in 1153.

² *Abkhāz* (omitted in this place in Or. 6310) is the obvious reading in Or. 5803, but one must have in view the confusion found in Arab sources of الإبخاز and اللایجان **Lāyjān*, one of the districts of Shirvan, see *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 408. As King Dimitri was operating in the eastern part of the Caucasus, Lāyjān (with its famous fortress) might fit into the geographical pattern of his campaign. More important is the reference to Derbend and the Alan territory showing the large extent of Dimitri's operations. At this period Derbend had its own dynasty which was quarrelling with the Shirvānshāhs, Brosset, loc. cit., i/1, 364, and Pakhomov, *O Derbendskom kniazhestve*, Baku, 1930.

³ Or. 5803: رجل أسير مستعرب (*sic*) من قومه فعارى (*sic*) وأصعد إليه من الغد: Or. 6310, f. 103a: مستعرب وهو أسير عن قومه وإيل غازی فاذا كان الغد اصعد إليه

⁴ After this Or. 5803 intercalates: "It was reported in the year 515/1121—and the first ? is right)—that the king . . . *wān* in Aleppo."

⁵ The passage is clearer in Or. 6310.

caliph,¹ and on the other side stood the names of God and the Prophet, on him be peace, (whereas) the king's own name stood on a side of the dirham. It was cried in the town (*al-balād*) that (the king) permitted (to shed) the blood (*ahdara damahu*) of him who harmed a Muslim. He granted to them the call to prayer, the prayers and the reading (of the Qor'ān) in public, and also guaranteed that on Fridays sermons and public prayers should be held and prayers be said from the pulpit for the caliph and the sultan, and for no one else. He also guaranteed that no Georgian or Armenian, or Jew should enter the baths of Ismā'il² in Tiflis. He assessed (*wazzaḡa khidmata*) a Georgian at a rate of 5 dinars per annum, a Jew at 4 dinars, and a Muslim at 3 dinars. He was extremely kind to the Muslims; he honoured the scholars and ṣūfīs by respecting their rank (?)³ and (granting them) what they do not enjoy even among the Muslims.

{I witnessed all these privileges (*shurūt*) when I entered Tiflis in the year 548/1153. And I saw how the king of the Abkhaz, Dīmītrī [1121–1156], in whose service I was, arrived in Tiflis and sojourned there some days. The same Friday he came to the cathedral mosque and sat on a platform (*dakka*) opposite the preacher and he remained at his place while the preacher preached and the people prayed and he listened to the *khutba*, all of it. Then he went out and granted for the mosque (*aḡlaḡa bi-rasm al-jāmi'*) 200 gold dinars.

And I saw the scholars, the preachers, and the noblemen seek attendance on him, and the ṣūfīs offer prayers for him, and he gave them largesse and rewarded them, while he displayed unparalleled confidence in them. And I witnessed on his part such esteem towards the Muslims as they would not enjoy even if they were in Baghdad.}

It is reported that in the year 516/1155 there was an earthquake in the town of Janzē, which is Kanja (*Ganja), and a part of it sank (*inkhasafa*) and the walls were destroyed, and the King Dāvūd with his suite, horsemen, and infantry went out to it and looted all the belongings (of the people) and whatever there was in it. He killed of them a great number and made prisoner such great number as cannot be counted and the prisoners (were brought) into Tiflis on carts (*'alā 'ijal*) because of their multitude (*f. 162b*). Muslim prisoners were driven like herds (*qut'ān*) of sheep.⁴ With them the king entered into Tiflis and the people of Tiflis bought most of them and freed them. Some people of Tiflis said to me: "Our impoverishment began only from that time".

[It is reported that in the year 515/1121 Mamdūd (?) was killed in the cathedral mosque of Damascus and buried in the tower.⁵ And it is said that in 515 Najm al-dīn returned to Mārdīn where he stayed the year 506 (*516/1122)

¹ See above, pp. 30–31.

² Possibly, Ishaq's father, Ismā'il b. Shu'ayb, who settled in Georgia at the time of the caliph Amīn (A.D. 809–813), see Ya'qūbī, ii, 528.

³ Or. 5803, f. 163b: وجعل لاهل العلم... اكرام المنازل وما ليس لهم عند المسلمين ; واحسن الى المسلمين غاية الاحسان و (sic) لاهل الدين... من الحرمة والاکرام : Or. 6310, f. 104a. ما ليس لهم بين المسلمين In Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī's version, Dimitri " batit des *ribāṭ* et *hôtelleries* pour les prédicateurs, les soufis et les poètes ", see Defrémery, *J.A.*, 1849, xii, 485.

⁴ This earthquake in Ganja is different from that of 534/1139, at the time of the atabek Qara-Sunqur, see I. Athir, xi, 51, and Vardan, in Brosset, i/2, 416. The behaviour of King David would have been excessive in King Dimitri's time.

⁵ Omitted in Or. 6310. Perhaps Amir Maudūd of Mossul? But he was murdered in Damascus in 507/1113, see Ibn Qalānisi, 187. The whole paragraph reflects the uncertainty of later intercalations.

and then left for Aushal al-Hayna belonging to Mifarqīn and stayed there with his wife al-Khātūn, daughter of Tugh-tegin, lord of Damascus. He became ill and died on Thursday, 27 Ramadan (29 Nov. 1122).]

II

The short second passage completes Ibn al-Azraq's account of his travels in the suite of King Dimitri. It is important that he confirms again that the king operated as far east as the immediate neighbourhood of Derbend.

(Or. 5803, *f.* 176*b* = Or. 6310, *f.* 136*a*) [The late Ḥisām al-dīn Timur-tāsh (son of El-Ghāzi), God's mercy on him, used to respect the lords of the (noble) houses; he looked into their affairs and would not consider the punishment of (those) houses. . . . Whenever a representative of the turbaned people and scholars visited him he bade him dismount and honoured him and gave him largesse and supplied him with all he wanted. . . .]

{When he died¹ I was in the country (*wilāya*) of the Kurj (Georgians) in the service of the king of the Abkhaz Dīmītrī, son of Dāvūd, king of the whole of the country. I entered Tiflis in the year 548/1153 and joined the king's service, travelling with him to the country of the Alan and the Abkhaz and Derbend. One day we were in the neighbourhood of the town of Derbend, and this was the 4th of Muharram 549/21 March 1154, and the king summoned me and said: "Your lord Ḥisām al-dīn has died. The news has reached me to-day."}

[In his days there was in Mifarqīn a group of governors, of whom was the ḥājib Abū Bakr Bayram and 'Othman Khumartāsh al-Ḥājī, each of them (appointed) in turn (down to) the ḥājib Bayram.² (Then) he appointed the ḥājib Yūsuf Yināl. Then he dismissed him and granted fiefs in dependence on his own household (*tahta dārihi*?). The atābek Zangi took (them?) from him. And he (?) appointed to Mifarqīn a *mamlūk* who belonged to the amīr (?) and whose name was Qurughlī (*sic*, Qiz-oghli?). After a period of time he died.]

¹ He began to rule in 516 (Nov. 1122) and died "towards the end of 547/1152, or perhaps in 548/1153", see C. Cahen, *loc. cit.*, 254.

² Or. 6310, *f.* 137*a*: "and he appointed to the governorship of Mifarqīn the ḥājib Abū Bakr and Bayram and 'Othman, sons of Khumar-tāsh al-Ḥājī, each of them for a (short) period, except the ḥājib Bayram who was appointed twice", etc.



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Caucasica II

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1951), pp. 868-877

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609021>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:52 UTC

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Caucasica II.¹

By V. MINORSKY

1. The Georgian maliks of Ahar

§ 1. The maliks of Ahar.

§ 2. Their coins.

§ 3. The name *Bīshkīn* and those who bore it.

§ 4. An earlier member of the family.

§ 5. The dedicatees of Nizāmī's *Iskandar-nāma*.

§ 1. Muhammad Nasawi, the biographer of the Khwārazm-shah Jalāl al-dīn, several times refers to the story of Nuṣrat al-dīn Muhammad (*Mahmūd) b. *Bīshkīn.² When in 614/1217 the atabek of Azarbayjan, Özbek, was expelled from Isfahan by the Khwārazm-shāh Muhammed, Özbek's vassal Nuṣrat al-din led the army back to Azarbayjan and thus enabled his master to escape with a small detachment. In Miyāna Nuṣrat al-din was taken prisoner by the Khwarazmians and brought to Hamadan. Wishing to humiliate him and other distinguished prisoners, the Khwārazm-shāh ordered them to stand on their feet while he played polo on the hippodrome. One day the conqueror's interest was aroused by the pair of unusually large ear-rings which Nuṣrat was wearing. Nuṣrat explained (p. 18) that his grandfather was captured by Alp Arslan during his expedition into Georgia (possibly that of 456/1064).³ Later, Alp Arslan liberated the prisoners but ordered them (as his slaves) to wear ear-rings with his name. Then the Seljukid dominion decayed and the former prisoners abandoned their obedience (and its outward sign), all except Nuṣrat's grandfather who became a Muslim (and continued to wear the ear-rings) as a token of the benefits of Islam and of (his) fidelity.⁴ When this was explained to the Khwarazm-shah, he invited Nuṣrat to join him in his game and gave him a valuable reward. He restored to him his possessions, among which were the towns of Ahar and Varāvī, adding to them the neighbouring Sarāh (now Sarāb), which at that time was in the occupation of the atabek Özbek. Nuṣrat returned home but said nothing about Sarāh to his lord Özbek. Only when Jalāl al-din overthrew Özbek and occupied Tabriz did Nuṣrat produce the document. Without any formality Jalāl recognized his claim and treated Nuṣrat with particular sympathy and generosity (Nasawi, 18). Owing to the relations established during his captivity in Hamadan, Nuṣrat passed into the service of the conqueror, but his attitude towards his earlier colleagues was not ungracious. Thus we hear that an important dignitary of the atabeks sought refuge in his dominions,

¹ See *BSOAS.*, 1949, xiii/1, pp. 27–35.

² *Sīrat al-sulṭān Jalāl al-dīn*, ed. Houdas, 1891, pp. 3, 14, 16–8. The French translation (1895) teems with misunderstandings and needs a thorough revision. Nasawi several times writes *Muhammad* instead of *Mahmūd* attested on the coins.

³ I. Athīr, x, 25–8; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i/1, 327.

⁴ The text as it stands, p. 18, makes no good sense and I have interpreted it according to my understanding, reading **wa khala'ū ulā'ika ribqat al-tī'a* instead of *wa ja'alū ulā'ika ribqatan lil-tī'a*.

and it was only Jalal's lieutenant, the brutal Sharaf al-mulk, who arrested him (Nasawi, 106). When Boghdī, a former slave of the atabek Özbek, raised a revolt in favour of his deposed masters, Nuşrat made efforts to bring about a reconciliation between him and Sharaf al-mulk. This is the last we hear of Nuşrat al-din (Nasawi, 165).

The story of the ear-rings, in a less poetical form, is also found in Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi's *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 441: after Alp Arslan's campaign in Georgia a number of Georgian amirs were taken prisoner and some of them accepted Islam. "One of them was *Bīshkīn. Instead of the ring of slavery (*halqa-yi bandagī*), (the sultan) fixed in his ear a horse-shoe, and his progeny similarly have worn large ear-rings. As a fief (the sultan) gave him the town of Varāvī which is now known as Bīshkīn."

The position of Nusrat al-din's fief Varāvī is explained in the same author's *Nuzhat al-qulub*, pp. 82-3: "the *tuman*¹ of Bīshkīn comprises seven towns, namely Bīshkīn, Khiyāv, *Alār, *Arjāq (Arshaq?), Ahar, Tegala, and Kalaybar." Then speaking in particular of the town of Bīshkīn he adds: "originally it bore the name of Varāvī, but after Bīshkīn the Georgian had come to be governor in it, it was called after him." Ḥamdullāh adds that Mt. Sabalān lies to the south of Bīshkīn and this leaves no doubt about its location on the river Meshkin which joins the river of Ahar above its juncture with the river of Ardabil (Qara-su). Roughly Meshkin lies at 70 kms. west of Ardabil.

The name Meshkin is not found in ancient geographers and it represents only a variation of Bīshkīn.² The alternance of *b/m* at the beginning of the name may be attributable to Turkish influence. In fact from the Seljuk days large contingents of nomad Turkmans were established in the region between Mt. Savalān and the Araxes, and a special group of the Shāh-sevans (i.e. the Shī'a Turkmans attached to the Safavid house) is still called the "Meshkin group."

The considerable area of the *tuman* of Bīshkīn probably corresponds to the original fief of the eponymous ruler. Nasawi, too, by referring to Ahar and Varāvī, indicates more or less the limits of the *tuman* of the Mongol time, but we know from the same author that Nusrat al-din claimed also Sarāh (Sarāb) on the Ardabil-Tabriz road, and, to the east of Varāvī, he possibly controlled some cantons along the Ardabil-Araxes road (such as Arshaq). The area, comprising part of the present-day governorships of Ardabil and Tabriz, formed a sizable principality which must have enjoyed some feudal autonomy within the territories controlled by the atabeks of Tabriz (the dynasty of Eldiguz).

§ 2. This is shown by the privilege the local rulers possessed to strike coins, although the existing collections suggest that this right was limited to copper

¹ A division of Mongol times.

² See Juvayni, ii, 184, *Bīshkīn*, younger copies *Mīshkīn*; Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 33: *Bīshkīn.

fels-es. Of the two copper pieces of the British Museum¹ the one (No. 689) has on the obverse the formula of *lā ilāh* and the name of the caliph *Nāṣir lidīni- ulāhi* (575–620), and on the reverse the name of the atabek Abū Bakr b. Muhammad Pahlavān b. Eldiguz (587–607) and that of the *malik al-umarā* *Bīshkīn b. Muhammad followed by his caliphal title (illegible: *x* of the *amīr al-mu'minīn*). Of the date only “ninety” (*tis'in*) can be read, which can refer to any of the years between 590 and 599 (1194–1203). The other coin (No. 690) has a similar obverse, whereas its reverse gives two names, that of *al-malik al-a'zam* Uzbek b. Muhammad (607–22) and that of *malik al-umarā* Nuṣrat al-dīn Maḥmūd b. *Bīshkīn b. Muhammad. Here we have the complete series of the Georgian rulers of Meshkin.

The collections of the Hermitage (Leningrad) contain 23 copper coins of the same maliks. Six coins were struck by *Bīshkīn in Ahar, and one of them, mentioning the name of Abū Bakr, bears the date 594/1198. Eleven coins were struck by Maḥmūd b. *Bīshkīn in the time of the Eldiguzid Özbek; one of them is dated 612/1215. Six coins belong to the same prince with the name of *Māngburnī (i.e. the Khwārazm-shah Jalāl al-dīn) and the date *623/1226.²

§ 3. Nasawi confirms that the first comer to Persia was Nuṣrat al-dīn's grandfather of whom no coins have come down to us. The actual founder of the principality, to which he gave his name, was Nuṣrat al-dīn Maḥmūd's father Bīshkīn. His name, which stuck in the memory of the contemporaries, is of Iranian origin and originally must have sounded *Bēshkēn* as attested by its Georgian form.³ The emergence of this rare name between the father Muḥammad and the son Maḥmūd is noteworthy and it is our only guiding thread in the family connections of the maliks.

Nusrat al-din's grandfather must have belonged to a distinguished family for a mere conversion to Islam would hardly have secured for him (or his son) a high position in Muslim society. But even in Georgia this name is very uncommon. The only Beshken I could find in the *Georgian Chronicle* is the commander of Jaq who was killed by the Turks in 1118, see Brosset, i/1, 360. Apparently this “commander” belonged to the local family of the lords of Akhal-tsikhe.⁴ However, our sources are silent on any contacts of the Jaqeli family with Persia.

Circa 1483 S. Orbelian quotes a scion of the Orbeli house called *Pelgene*, whose name Brosset, i/1, 351, has restored as **Pešgēn*. The name may reflect

¹ Lane Poole, *Cat. of Orient. coins*, iii, 1877, p. 256.

² See A. K. Markov, *Inventarniy Katalog*, 1896–8, p. 434. Markov still uses the wrong reading Pishtegin. See also F. Soret, in *Rev. numismatique*, 1860, v, pp. 71–6: one *fels* of Bīshkīn, Ahar, 594, and two *fels*es of Nuṣrat, struck in Ahar, one with the name of Özbek (623), and another with the name of Jalāl al-dīn.

³ In a late Armenian source (Thomas of Metsob, fifteenth century) the name appears as *Beshgēn*. [In Georgia *Beshken* is attested as a popular name, see Janashia, *Istoriya Gruzii*, 1946, p. 244; a silver-smith, Beshken Opizari, twelfth century.]

⁴ See Vakhshut, *Geography*, p. 31, 47. The Jaqeli family received its name from the river Jaqis-tsqali, one of the left affluents of the Kur, in Samtsxe, *ibid.*, 89.

some atavistic survival, though its occurrence within the versatile Orbeli family is too tardy and isolated. Another pointer in the same direction may be the village Beshkenashen ("built by Beshken") mentioned in Vakhush't's *Geography of Georgia*. The source is late (eighteenth century) but the fact that the village had given its name to the river (*Beshkenashenis-tsqali*) is in favour of its antiquity. The village lies in T'rialet'i, on one of the left affluents of the Ktsia.¹ This place may have been within the reach of the Orbeli family.² For the moment we cannot go beyond these guesses.

§ 4 (Additional). A closer examination of the texts shows that the period of time separating Alp Arslan's campaign in Georgia (1064) from the date of Bishkīn's coin (1198), i.e. at the minimum 134 years, exceeds the admissible interval between the maturity of a father and that of a son. In fact, in Nasawi's passage the term *jadd* used with regard to Alp Arslan's captive may be interpreted as "ancestor" and not as "grandfather". The coins suggest that Nuṣrat al-dīn's grandfather bore the name of Muhammad and there must have been some more links between the latter and the prisoner of 1064. The name Bishkīn must have occurred in the family genealogy at an earlier stage for otherwise it would not have been borne on Persian soil.

This is supported by an additional reference to an amir Bishkīn found in Bundārī's abridgment of 'Imād al-dīn's *History of the Seljuks* (ed. Houtsma, p. 165). While Sultan Tughril b. Muhammad (526-8/1132-3) was staying in Isfahan, with amir Qara-Sunqur acting as his representative in Azarbayjan, his brother Sultan Mas'ūd, accompanied by the atabek Aq-Sunqur Aḥmadīlī (see Minorsky, *Marāgha*, in *E.I.*), moved from Baghdad on Azarbayjan. Local amirs fortified themselves in various places, and 'Ayn al-daula Khwārazm-shāh, together with the amirs Balāq (?) and Bīstakīn (read: **Bīshkīn*) sought security in Ardabil. There they were besieged by Mas'ūd, who defeated Qara-Sunqur at the gate of the town, but some time after the besieged amirs succeeded in rejoining Tughril in Isfahan. No further reference to *Bīshkīn is found in Bundārī's text. The events just mentioned took place in 527/1132.³ Our restoration of the impossible *Bīshkīn* as **Bīshkīn* is corroborated by this amir's association with Ardabil, in the neighbourhood of which lay the later Bīshkīnīd fief. The question is to know whether the name Bishkin is used here as a personal name. The gap between the events of 1132 and the coin of Bishkīn b. Muhammad struck in 1198 (i.e. sixty-six years) seems too considerable for the identification of this "Bīshkīn" with the above-mentioned Muhammad, and we have to assume that we have here an *earlier* link in the pedigree of the amirs

¹ Ed. Brosset, p. 161, and map. On modern maps this place seems to be represented by *Beshdasheni* (?).

² One of the boroughs downstream on the Ktzia was called Liparitis-Ubani, Liparit being one of the typical names of the said family.

³ The events are much more clear in I. Athir, x, 483, but he omits the names of the amirs besieged in Ardabil. The identity of 'Ayn al-daula is obscure, though in the previous year (526) the Khwārazm-shah Atsiz commanded Sanjar's left flank in the so-called "battle of Dāymarj" (more exactly near *Ghūlān, in the neighbourhood of Daynavar), see I. Athir, x, 476.

of Ahar and Meshkin. The name of this amir would further indicate the persistence of this exotic name in the family.

§ 5. Another problem is the name Bīshkīn within the family of the atabeks of Azarbayjan (Eldiguzids). When queen Tamar moved her troops to Ganja to support the candidature of Amīr-Mirān b. Pahlavān b. Eldiguz,¹ as against his brother Abū-Bakr b. Pahlavān, the atabek was defeated and the three camps looted, namely his own, that of his son Prince Beshken-the-Brave, and that of the amir Satmaz ed-din (read : *‘Izz al-dīn Satmaz). The same prince is apparently referred to in the dedication of the second part of Nizami’s *Iskandar-nāma*.

Like the first part of the poem, it was originally dedicated to Jahān-pahlavān Nuṣrat al-dīn, i.e. the atabek Abū-Bakr, son of Jahān Pahlavān Muhammad, son of Eldiguz (d. in 607/1210).² In the non-critical edition of Vahīd Dastgardī, p. 33, the preface seems to refer also to another (?) prince called *Pīshkīn* (*Bīshkīn). The poet wonders why heaven had called him *Pīsh-kīn* “foremost in hatred” and not *Pīsh-mīhr* “foremost in love”. By anagram his name is *Kay-Pīshīn*³ because he has the signs of a Kayānid (*kay-nīshān*) and lives in a Kayānian place (*kay-nīshīn*?). He has given a new life to *mulk-i dahr* (see below). The poet goes on describing the effect of a terrible earthquake by which Ganja was destroyed “on the eve of Saturday”. Then, in a short time, “thanks to the royal *farr*” of the prince mentioned Ganja became “more flourishing than Rūm”. The following *khitāb* (p. 34) refers to the victory (*nuṣrat*) of the royal banners and calls the king Jahān Pahlavān (p. 39). Unexpectedly the conclusion of the poem (p. 280) contains the eulogy of quite a different person, Malik ‘Izz al-dīn Mas‘ūd b. Arslan, also referred to as Abul-Faṭḥ Mas‘ūd b. Nūr al-dīn and as Jahān Pahlavān. Nizāmī says that this prince reached the age of sixty (p. 290) and hopes that his fortune will be as happy (*mas‘ūd*) as his name. Rieu, *Supplement*, 154, has recognized the third prince as the Zangid of Mausil Mas‘ūd II b. Nūr al-dīn Arslan-shah who ruled in 607–15/1211–8 and this is a most likely suggestion.⁴

We have to assume that the second part of the *Iskandar-nama*⁵ was

¹ The Chronicle (Brosset, i/1, 435–46) describes the campaign in great detail adding that Amir-Miran’s mother (Inanch-khatun) was at that time married to Tughril-Sultan. In fact (by her third marriage) Inanch-khatun became the wife of Tughril, in Ramadan 589/Sept. 1193. The wedlock was of short duration and Tughril had his spouse strangled, see *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, 367. This date is important for fixing the time of Tamar’s expedition.

² *Jahān-Pahlavān* is usually taken for a distinctive title of Muhammad b. Eldiguz, but Nizāmī uses this term for his son Abū-Bakr and even for the atabek of Mossul ‘Izz al-dīn. Cf. in Nasawī, p. 217, the name of one of Jalāl al-dīn’s generals : Jahān Pahlavān Ōzbek Bāyan.

³ The third son of Kay Qubād, see *Shāh-nāma*, Tehran, 1313, ii, 314 (Kay Qubād, verse 227).

⁴ The difficulty is that this prince ascended the throne at the age of *seventeen*, which is in obvious contradiction with Nizami’s *sixty*. Should the latter be correct, one has to revert to Dr. Bacher’s theory that the reference is to ‘Izz al-dīn Mas‘ūd I b. Maudūd, who ruled in 572–89/1176–August 1193, and that it belongs to some earlier recension of the *Iskandar-nāma*. However, this involves a new difficulty. Al-Malik al-Qāhir was the title of ‘Izz al-dīn II and we do not know whether it also belonged to Izz al-dīn I.

⁵ Or some later copies of it. In my own MS. of the *Khamsa* (889/1484) both the dedication and the conclusion are in the name of ‘Izz al-dīn.

re-dedicated, probably after the death of the first dedicatee, and this has created much confusion in the manuscripts to the embarrassment of the students of Persian literature.¹

The original preface must have had in view two persons: the atabek Abū Bakr and his son *Pīshkīn* (the Persian pronunciation with *p* is certain in view of the anagram), references to the sons being usual in the dedications of Persian poems. This *Pīshkīn* must be the prince on whom the Georgian chronicle bestows the admiring qualification “*Beshken-the-Brave*”.

Ganja, where Nizāmī lived, belonged to the possessions of the atabek Abū Bakr. The Georgian capture of Ganja (in 589/1193 ?) was a short-lived success. The Georgian candidate Amīr-Mirān died shortly afterwards and Abū Bakr re-occupied Ganja, see Brosset, i/1, 447.

Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 160, relates that the atabek Abū-Bakr, weak and addicted to wine, became conscious of his incapacity to cope with the continuous Georgian inroads. So he decided to change his tactics² and in 602/1205-6 married the daughter of the Georgian king, after which the Georgians stopped their raids. Brosset, i/1, 445, who knew this record through Abul-Fidā, iv, 219, avers that to his knowledge no lady of the royal family nor any young person of the great Georgian families did contract a similar marriage at the time of Queen Tamar. On the other hand, no marriage with an emigrée of the houses of Nuṣrat al-din of Ahar or Liparit (see below) would serve as a deterrent to Georgian attacks. Nor would a marriage contracted in 602/1205 account for the name of Beshken which crept into Abu Bakr's family at a much earlier date. Consequently, the most likely conclusion is that the name points to some previous matrimonial link between Abū Bakr and the family of his vassal, Nuṣrat al-din b. Pīshkīn.

The final decision on the origin of the Georgian “maliks of Ahar” belongs to the scholars who are in full possession of the Georgian sources.

It remains to us to elucidate the historical hints in the earlier draft of Nizāmī's dedication. Its confused state does not enable us to discriminate between the achievements of Abū Bakr and his son *Pīshkīn*. The two points in question are: the restoration of the *mulk-i dahr* (?) and the rebuilding of Ganja after an earthquake.

Mulk-i dahr (rhyming with *bahr*) does not make any good sense: “the kingdom of the time, of the epoch”? I am tempted, therefore, to restore *أهر* as *أهر* “Ahr”, which is the archaic pronunciation of the present-day

¹ Rieu, “Catalogue of Persian manuscripts,” pp. 568-70; *Supplement*, p. 154; G. H. Darab, *Makhzanol Asrūr*, 1945, pp. 55-61 (reviewed by Minorsky, *BSOAS.*, 1948, xii/2, 441-5). Professor E. Berthels, in his recent book *Roman ob Alexandre i yego glavniye versii na Vostoke*, Moscow, 1948, pp. 50-2, solves the difficulty by assuming that Bīshkīn was the name of Nuṣrat al-dīn himself. I do not know the authority for such a statement. The new interesting fact is that A. A. Alesker-zadeh is reported to have discovered the tomb-stone of Nizāmī giving the date of his death as 4 Ramadan 605/Thursday 12 March 1209, see *Voprosi istorii*, 1948, No. 9, p. 121.

² The text is more expressive: *ghamada sayfahu wa salla ayrahu*.

Ahar, confirmed by Yāqūt, i, 409. The rhyme *dahr* — *Ahr* — *qahr* is found in the chronogram on the death of Shams al-din Juvayni, see Rashīd al-dīn (ed. Jahn, Prague, 1941), p. 65. As Nuṣrat al-dīn for some time remained captive with the Khwārazmians, it is likely that Pīshkīn (especially if through his mother he was connected with Nuṣrat al-dīn) was in charge of the fief of Ahar-Mīshkīn.¹

Ganja is known to have suffered several times from earthquakes but the nearest in time seems to be that of Rabī‘ I 590/March, 1194. I.A., xii, 72, says that it affected “al-Jazīra, ‘Irāq and many (other) lands”. As the Georgian chronicle does not mention it in relating the re-establishment of Amīr-Mīrān in Ganja, we should assume that it occurred soon after the Georgian expedition and may have contributed to the re-occupation of Ganja by the representatives of Abū-Bakr.

Nothing is known on the Bīshkīn family after Nuṣrat al-dīn, but the above quotation from the *Tarīkh-i guzīda* (written in 1330) might be interpreted in a way that some descendants of the maliks exhibited their huge ear-rings even in Mongol times.

2. The Princes Orbeli in Persia

An interesting example of the Georgian-Muslim relations in the twelfth century is found in the adventures of some representatives of the Orbeli house during the rule of the atabeks of Azarbayjan. These princes belonged to a very ancient Georgian family, said to have come from China (sic) “one thousand years ago”.² The name of their hereditary fief was Orbeth but it is difficult to say whether the place was called after them or vice versa. There is no doubt about the Georgian nationality of the Orbelis but later the branch established in Siunik³ identified itself with the Armenian creed and the historian of the family wrote in Armenian.

The Orbeli house was one of the chief centres of feudal opposition to the rising power of the Bagratid kings of Georgia. Particularly disrupting was the role of the famous Liparit III in the reign of Bagrat IV (1027–72). After his removal from the political stage,³ the kings patched up with his descendants and the latter rendered great services to the kingdom. During the reign of Giorgi III (1156–84) the historian of the family credits the generalissimo Ivane Orbeli with the capture of Ani (1161), with the victory over the Shah-Arman, and with another victory over Eldiguz.

According to Vardan it was this Ivane who, being desirous to receive Ani

¹ This may be the explanation of Nizami’s term *kay-nishīn* “living in a Kayānid place”. According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 83, one of the towns of Mīshkīn (*Alār) was founded by Qubād and, though this king was a Sasanian, poetically his name may have been taken for that of the legendary Kay-Qubād.

² See their history in S. Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie* (in Armenian), tr. by Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1864, i, ch. 66 (first published by St. Martin, *Mémoires*, ii, 15–300, see especially pp. 101–11 and commentary), and Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i/2, pp. 257–64, and 334–52.

³ Said to have died in 1062, see Brosset, i/2, 350.

and to free the Christian prisoners, persuaded Giorgi to recapture Ani (1177)¹ but in the very same year a crisis broke out. Giorgi III was in the twenty-first year of his reign when his nephew Demna came of age. Demna was the son of David III who ruled for a short time (1154–6) before his brother Giorgi. It was alleged then that David III on his death-bed nominated Giorgi as his successor only temporarily during Demna's minority. According to S. Orbelian, the generalissimo Ivane was bound by an oath to that effect. So suddenly Ivane took up Demna's cause against Giorgi and 30,000 men joined him in Lori. But Giorgi was an energetic ruler who had been long in the saddle and had the support of his Qipchaq vassal Qubasar. Ivane took a risky decision in sending his brother Liparit, with the latter's sons Elikum and Ivane, to solicit the help of the atabek of Azarbayjan.² The prospect of a Muslim raid sobered the minds of Demna's supporters and they gradually left Ivane. He surrendered to Giorgi's mercy but Giorgi had him blinded, and all the family, men and women, exterminated. Those members who might return from abroad were outlawed.

Meanwhile, Ivane's brother Liparit V, seeing further resistance devoid of purpose, disbanded his Muslim auxiliaries (60,000 horsemen), went back to Persia, and died of grief. His son Elikum stayed on in Persia and his other son was honourably treated by the amir of Ganja until, in the reign of Thamar, he was induced to return to Georgia and recovered the hereditary fief of Orbeth.

In the apologia of his family, S. Orbelian writes (p. 222) that Elikum was treated kindly by Eldiguz and his sons Pahlavan and Qizil-Arslan. The atabek gave him the great town of Hamian,³ called him his son, and confirmed him in his possessions by a document bearing his *tughra*. For twelve years he was amir and commander of Rey, Isfahan and Qazvin (*Khazmin*). The sultan tempted him by offering him his daughter, provided he became a Muslim, but Elikum despite his youthfulness was firm. He only asked to be transferred to Nakhchavan because it lay near to Georgia "and, said he, it will be sweet and easy for me to avenge the death of my father and brothers". The atabek gave him accordingly the cantons of Ernčak (Alinjaq), Jahuk, and Kalasrah dependent from Nakhchavan. Eldiguz put Elikum's hand into that of his son Pahlavan and said to the latter: "be his father and let him be your son." Elikum summoned to Nakhchavan the bishop of Siunik, confessed his sins, and submitted to a penitence. He married the bishop's niece (whose mother was married to a man of Jahuk). Then Elikum fell ill and was visited by the "great atabek" who insisted on his accepting Islam. This time Elikum

¹ This is the date given in Brosset, i/2 (1851), p. 256. The Russian translation of Vardan by N. Emin, 1861, p. 158, gives Arm.623/1174, which allows more time for the subsequent events.

² S. Orbelian calls him Eldiguz, but it must be remembered that since 1176 Muhammad Pahlavan was ruling in Azarbayjan (see below).

³ This name must correspond to Hamadan as it appears from S. Orbelian's statement, i, 235, that Abagha-khan died in *Hamian*, cf. Rashid al-din, ed. K. Jahn, Prague, 1941, p. 41: Abagha died in Hamadan.

succumbed to the temptation and the atabek, under his seal, gave him Jahuk, Kalasrah, and thirty shops in Nakhchavan in full property. When Elikum recovered he went to meet the sultan and the atabek and implored them for the permission to abide by his Christian faith. As he was an indispensable man he was let alone. With the son of the atabek he marched against Ganja and was killed there. His masters took away his widow with her infant son Liparit and married her to a Muslim. The boy was brought up by this step-father and for ten years heard nothing of Christianity.

At the instance of the Mxargrdzeli brothers¹ the bishop of Siunik' helped his niece and her son to escape from Nakhchavan and had them hidden in Vayo-dzor.² The Georgian king (Giorgi Lasha, 1213–22) assigned to Liparit villages in various places of Siunik' (in Vayo-dzor, Gelarkuni, etc.)—apparently with the intention that he should not put himself at the head of a large territorial unit.

The Georgian chronicle (Brosset, i/1, 545) contains more details on the adventures of Liparit. It confirms his reception by Eldiguz. When the latter saw Sembat³ he gave him his daughter and two sons were born of this marriage: Elikum and Sembat. Eldiguz adopted the latter,⁴ which shows that the Georgian refugees came at least one year before the death of the atabek.

The vicissitudes of the refugee branch of the Orbeli family are recorded in the interesting inscription hewn out on the walls of the monastery of Noravank (in Vayo-dzor) founded by Liparit.⁵ It is dated 1221 and the founder, "Liparit, son of Elikum, and grandson of the great (Liparit) Orbelian," says: "my father Elikum desirous to avenge himself on the king of Abkhaz (Georgia) went to the house of the Atabek Eltkuz and the latter gave him assistance and consideration and bestowed on him the great town of Hamian (Hamadan?). I, Liparit, his son, being still young, returned to the light of St. Gregory's creed and presented myself before the great atabek Ivane (Mxargrdzeli) who, as a substitute for my patrimony, gave me Hrashkaber with its emoluments and I have built this monastery" . . .

The son could hardly have confused the name of his father's benefactor, and the inscription confirms that this branch of the Orbeli came to Persia *before* the

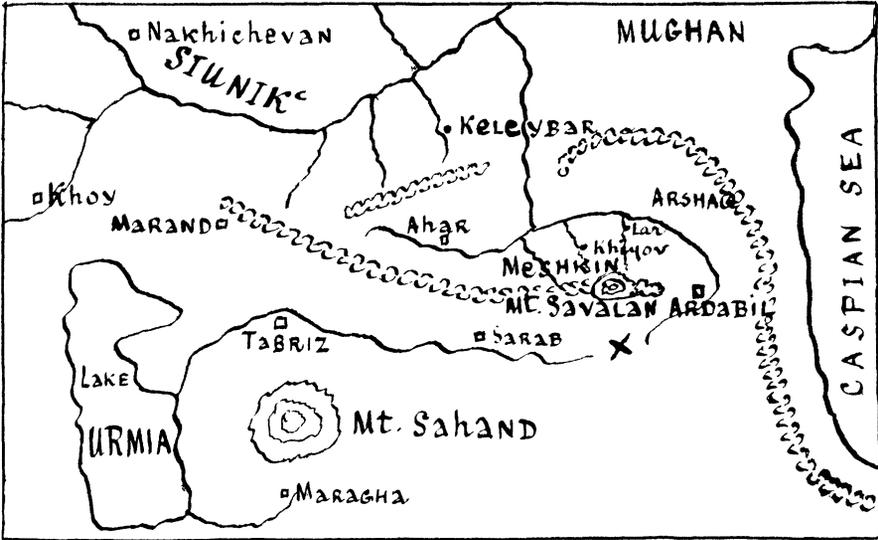
¹ Queen Tamar's (1184–1213) famous generals Zakare and Ivane. Their family was of Kurdish extraction but was converted to Christianity by the Armenian princes under whom it had taken service. Finally, Ivane opted for the Georgian orthodoxy but Zakare remained faithful to the Armenian creed.

² Siunik' is the western part of the highlands separating the Araxes from the Kur, and stretches south of Lake Sevan (Gelarkuni district). Vayo-dzor is the long valley of the Lower Arpa-chay which flows into the Araxes through the district of Sharur.

³ I could not check the position of this Sembat by the family tree drawn up by Brosset, i/2, 351. S. Orbelian refers only to two sons of Liparit namely Elikum and Ivane. Some details of the story of Elikum resemble what happened to Sembat.

⁴ It was the grandson of this Sembat (also called Sembat) who gave shelter to David, son of Rusudan, when he fled from the Mongols.

⁵ Brosset's introduction to S. Orbelian, ii, 98 (quoting S. Jalalians's description of the monastery).



death of Eldiguz (who died on 31st December, 1175).¹ The importance of this detail is in showing that king Giorgi III must have been warned of the suspicious designs of the Orbelis a considerable time before the crisis of 1177.

¹ See al-Fāriqī, fol. 199b, and *Rāhat al-sudūr*, p. 300. Ibn al-Athir's date 568/1172, adopted by Lane Poole and Zambaur, is wrong.



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Caucasica III: The Alān Capital *Magas and the Mongol Campaigns

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1952), pp. 221-238

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608675>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:55 UTC

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Caucasica III

The Alān Capital *Magas and the Mongol Campaigns

By V. MINORSKY

- § 1. Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn.
- § 2. Juvaynī on Mongol campaigns in the West.
- § 3. Rashīd al-dīn on the same campaigns.
- § 4. Notes to Rashīd al-dīn.
- § 5. MKS not Moscow but a Caucasian town.
- § 6. Mas'ūdī and others on the Alān capital.
- § 7. Magas and Dzauji-qāu.
- § 8. Conclusions.

§ 1. Introduction: Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn

THE object of the present article is to re-state two obscure problems and to show that their likely solution can be found only in treating them jointly. The two points are: the name of the ancient capital of the Ās (Alāns, now Ossets), as attested in the tenth century, and the identification of the town *MKS conquered by the Mongols in the course of the campaign of 636/1239.

As the sources on the latter event are more numerous I shall deal with it first. On the Muslim side we have two accounts of Batu's campaign, that of Juvaynī who completed his work in 658/1260, and that of Rashīd al-dīn, who wrote about 710/1310.

The two nearly contemporary historians differ widely in their methods and views. Juvaynī is a true representative of the tradition elaborated in the Seljuk chanceries.¹ His text is full of recondite Arabic words and verses making appeal only to highly trained scholars. Important hints and reflections are hidden away in flowery periods. The chapters are interrupted by lengthy dissertations on the helplessness of human initiative, on the terror of Divine wrath, on the inevitability of Fate. Juvaynī's mental field is the Islamic world, and he ventures into Outer Darkness with some reluctance.

Rashīd al-dīn is primarily interested in *materia historica*, in solid facts, in men and tribes with their full names and characteristics. His style is greatly simplified, with no abstruse Arabisms in it but with a number of administrative technicalities and new Turco-Mongol terms. He wrote as he probably spoke, reverting unconsciously to the style of Nizām al-mulk who must have dictated his *Siyāsat-nāma*. In Rashīd al-dīn's days the early tragedies of the Mongol invasion culminating in the sacking of Baghdad were things of the past. The Islamic, and mostly Persian collaborators, had set the administration on a solid foundation and even succeeded in converting the new rulers to Islam. Instead of lamenting over man's sins and the retribution in the shape of "God's horsemen", it was more appropriate to criticize the defects of the existing machinery and to devise the means of improving it. The field of Islamic intro-

¹ See, for example, the introduction to the collection of administrative documents of Mu'ayyad al-daula Muntakhab al-dīn Badī' Atābak al-Juvaynī, in *Atabat al-kataba*, recently published by M. Qazvini and Abbas Eghbal, Tehran, 1329/1950, pp. 1-5. The said Mu'ayyad al-daula was the maternal uncle of Juvaynī's great-grandfather Bahā al-dīn.

version had been long broadened by new vistas and the historian had to make a great effort in order to grasp the vast congeries of new lands, peoples and customs comprised in, or bordering on, the far-flung Mongol Empire. In this respect Rashīd al-dīn's history is perhaps a truer reflection of *Pax Mongolica*, but both he and Juvaynī, whose work he used, are equally well informed statesmen and keen observers. Both have preserved for us the particular atmosphere of their days.

Although my object is to comment on the Ās (Osset) capital *MKS, I cannot limit my task to quoting only the few lines in Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn bearing directly on the subject, for the brief episode cannot be understood without the proper background. Moreover, no English version of these important and difficult records of the Mongol campaigns in Russia and Eastern Europe exists in printed form. I hope that their complete text may prove useful to scholars of various specialities.

§ 2. Juvaynī on Mongol campaigns in the West

The following translation of the two short chapters of Juvaynī I, 224–6, is by my former pupil, Dr. J. A. Boyle, who has prepared a careful version of the whole of this great history now available in the painstaking edition of the late M. Qazvini. The translation is still unpublished and I quote it with Dr. Boyle's permission.

[224] “*Of the conquest of the Bulghār and the territory of the Ās and the Rūs* ¹

When Qā'ān (Ögedey) held the great *quriltay* for the second time, they deliberated together concerning the extirpation and subjugation of all the remaining rebels; and it was decided to seize the lands of the Bulghār, the Ās, and the Rūs, which bordered on the camping grounds of Batu; for they had not completely submitted being deluded by the size of their territory. He therefore deputed certain princes to aid and assist Batu, *viz.* Mangū Qā'ān and his brother Böček; Qadaghān, the son of Güyük-khan; of the other princes, Kūlkān, Böri and Bāydār; Batu's brothers, Hordō and Tangūt; and several other princes, as well as Subutāy Bahādur from amongst the chief commanders. The princes departed each to his own residence in order to organize their forces and armies; and in the spring they each of them set forth from his own territory and hastened to carry out this undertaking. They came together in the territory of the Bulghār. The earth echoed and reverberated from the multitude of their armies, and at the size and tumult of their forces the very beasts stood amazed. First they took by storm the city of Bulghār, famous throughout the world for the strength of its position and its ample resources; and as a warning to others they slew the people or led them captive. And from thence they proceeded to the land of the Rūs and conquered that country ² as far as the city [225] of MKS, the inhabitants of which were as

¹ Juvaynī briefly alludes to these events in the previous chapter (I, 222) in which he says that, after the advent of Ögedey, Batu subjugated the neighbouring territories consisting “of all that remained of Qipchaq, the Alān, the Ās, and the Rūs, and other lands, such as Bulghār and MKS”. This reference is definitely vague and approximate (V. M.).

² It is at this place that I assume a great lacuna in the text provoked either by the desire to abridge the report or by a *δμοιοτέλετρον* (V. M.).

numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests, such that even a serpent could not penetrate them. The princes all halted on the outskirts of the town, and on every side they built roads wide enough for three or four wagons to pass abreast. And they set up catapults opposite the walls, and after a space of several days left nothing of the city but its name,¹ and took great booty. And they gave orders to cut off the right ears of the people, and two thousand seven hundred ears were counted. And from thence the princes returned homewards.”

“ *Of the horsemen (khayl) of the Kilār and the Bashghird* ²

When the Rūs, the Qipchaq and the Alān had been annihilated, Batu resolved to proceed to the destruction of the Kilār and the Bashghird, who are large nations professing the Christian faith and are said to border on the land of the Franks. With this object in mind he arrayed his armies and set out in the new year. And that people was rendered arrogant by the magnitude of their numbers, the greatness of their power, and the strength of their armies ; and, when they heard the report of Batu’s approach, they too set out to meet him with four hundred thousand horsemen, each of whom was famous in war and considered flight a disgrace. Batu sent his brother Shībaqān on in advance with ten thousand men to spy out their numbers and send word of the extent of their strength and might. Shībaqān set forth in obedience to his command and at the end of a [226] week came back and reported that they were double the size of the Mongol army, all men of war and battle. When the two armies drew close to each other, Batu went up on to a hilltop ; and for one day and night he spoke to no one but prayed and lamented ; and he bade the Moslems also to assemble together and offer up prayers. The next day they made ready for battle. A large river lay between the armies : Batu sent over a detachment by night and then his main army crossed. Batu’s brother entered the battle in person and made attack after attack ; but the enemy’s army was strong and did not budge. Then the main army arrived from behind ; and Shībaqān attacked at the same time with all his forces ; and they bore down on their royal pavilions and cut the ropes with their swords.³ And when the Mongols had overturned their pavilions the army of the Kilar lost heart and fled. And no more of that army escaped, and those lands were subjugated. This was one of their greatest deeds and their fiercest battles.”

§ 3. Rashīd al-dīn on the Western Campaigns

The text of Rashīd al-dīn is much more complete, but the mixing of Juvaynī with other information has resulted in some confusion. It is clear from Rashīd’s transcription of personal names that he depends much more on rough Mongol records.⁴ My translation is based on the text established (rather unsatisfac-

¹ Read : “ nothing but its namesakes ” (V. M.).

² It is “ the horsemen (who marched against) the Kilar and the Bashghird ” (V. M.).

³ In 1246 Pian de Carpine saw in Bati’s camp on the lower Volga “ tents made of linen. They are large and quite handsome, and used to belong to the king of Hungary ”. See Rockhill’s trans. in *Hakluyt Society*, 2nd series, no. iv, p. 10.

⁴ Cf. a very short enumeration of the “ eleven nations ” of the West in the so-called “ Secret History of the Mongols ”, §§ 262, 270, 274 (I have used also the recent translations by S. A. Kozin, E. Haenisch, 1941, and K. Grønbech, 1945). The Far-Eastern texts, both Mongolian and Chinese, are very brief.

torily) by Blochet, *GMS*, 1911, 43–7, who did not use Berezin's valuable article "The first invasion of the Mongols in Russia" (in Russian) in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, vol. 79, 1853, 223–250, and vol. 86, 1855, 79–114. At the same time I use the variants in d'Ohsson ii, 619–626 (summed up by Bretschneider i, 310–7, with additions from Chinese sources). Numerous suggestions on Rashīd al-dīn's account are found in Pelliot's posthumous *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 1950, especially pp. 109–162. The latest translation is found in Tiesenhausen's *Sbornik materialov . . . Zolotoy Ordī*, ii, 1941, thoroughly revised by A. A. Romaskevich and S. L. Volin who quote some important variants.¹

[43] "Of the campaign of the princes and the Mongol army in Dasht-i Qipchāq, Bulghar, Urūs, MKS, Alān, Mājār (var. الاوماجار), Pūlār, *Bāshghurt, and of the conquest of those countries

The princes who were appointed for the conquest of Dasht-i Qipchaq and the neighbouring territories were: of the children of Tuluy-khan, his eldest son Mungkā (Möngkä)-qā'an and his brother Böjek; of the progeny of Ogtāy (Ögedey)-qā'an, his eldest son Güyük-khan and his brother Qadān; of the children of Chaghatay, Böri and Bāydār and the brother of the Qā'an, Kūlkān (Kūlkān); of the children of Jochi, Batu, Ūrda (Orda), Shībān and Tangqūt. Of the distinguished amirs, Sūbādāy (Sübedey)-bahādūr with several other amirs accompanied the princes. All of them together set forth in the beginning of the spring of Bichin-yīl, which is the year of the Monkey corresponding to (i.e. beginning in) Jumādā ii 633/Feb.–March 1236. During the summer and in the autumn they operated in the neighbourhood of Bulghar and reached the family domains (*ūrūq*) of Batu, Orda, Shībān and Tangqūt, who from that region were nominated (to take part in the campaign).

Thence (1*) Batu, together with Shībān and Būrūldāy and the army, took the field against Pūlū and Bāshqurd (2*) and in a short time and without much trouble took (those countries) and did much killing and looting. This happened like this: the Pūlū were a numerous people of Christian persuasion and their frontiers joined those of the Franks. On hearing the rumour that Batu and the amirs were on the march, they made preparations and set forth with 40 tumans of renowned troops. Shībān, who was in the van (*manqalay*) with 10,000 horsemen, [44] sent a report that they were several times more numerous than the Mongol army and all of them great fighters. When the two armies were drawn up in battle array, Batu, following the custom of Chinggis-khan, went on to the top of a hill and during one day and one night (addressed himself to) the Almighty with humility and lamentations, while he ordered the Muslims to pray in all sincerity. Between the armies there was a large river. Batu and Burulday crossed it at night and came to grips (with the enemy). Batu's brother Shiban personally took part in the fighting and Burulday at once attacked with all the troops. They approached the pavilion of the king (*k.l.r*) and with their swords cut down its ropes. The enemy's army lost heart and broke into flight. • The Mongols like lions on a hunt went after them smiting and killing them until they had annihilated the best part of the enemy and took their country (3*). This was one of the great deeds which they accomplished. Pūlū-and-Bāshqurd is a great area difficult (of access) and yet they

¹ The war prevented Pelliot from consulting this publication.

conquered it. But (Pūlū and Bāshqurd) revolted again and their land still remains not entirely conquered. Their kings are called **kilar*.¹

After that ² in the winter the princes and the amirs came together on the river Jāmān and sent amir Sübedey with an army to the Ās country and to the frontiers of Bulghār. They (themselves) proceeded up to the town KZNK (4*) and the other provinces of those parts. Having defeated the local armies they pacified (*īl*) the (inhabitants). The amirs of that (country) Bāyān (?) and Chīqū (*Ch.nqū*, *Kh.nqū* ?) arrived to pay homage (*ōljāmishī*) to the princes and returned with honours (*suypurghamishī*) but revolted again. For the second time Sübedey-bahadur was sent (against them) and he captured them.

After this the princes held a council (*kāngāch*) and each of them with an army went on **jerge* ³ and with fighting conquered the countries on their way. On the left wing Mōngkā-qā'ān (5*) followed the bank of the river (Volga) and (he and his troops) captured ⁴ the two (chiefs) : Pāchmān (Bachman ?), one of the great amirs of that country (belonging to ?) the Ūlīrlīk (Ūlarlang ?) tribe (*qaum*) of the Chīnchāq (**Khīfchaq* ?) federation (*jamā'at*), and Qāchīr-Ūkūla of the people Ās.⁵ This happened in the following way [45]. This Pāchmān with a band of other thieves had escaped from the sword (of the conquerors). A number of other fugitives gathered round him and wherever he went he carried away something and daily the unrest caused by him grew. He had no definite residence and the Mongol army could not get hold of him. By day he (hid) in the woods on the banks of the Ītil (Volga). Mōngkā-qā'ān gave orders to build 200 boats and load on each 100 fully armed Mongols, and with his brother marched along the banks of the river (as) at a *battue* (*yerge*, *nerge* ?). In one of the woods on the Ītil they found some dung and other traces of a horsemen's bivouac which had been hastily abandoned. Here they found an old woman who told them that Pāchmān had moved to an island. As no boats were available it was impossible to cross the Ītil but suddenly a strong wind arose and the waters were whipped up into waves and receded from the passage leading from the island to the other side (of the river). It was Mōngkā's luck that the ground became visible and ⁶ [he ordered his army to push on. They captured Bachmān and annihilated his troops in an hour's time ; they threw some into the water and finished off the others. Their wives and children were carried off into captivity and much property was seized. Then they returned and the waters became agitated again and after the army had crossed back everything became normal and not a man suffered from the waters. When Pāchmān [*sic*] was brought into the presence of Mōngkā-qā'ān he besought him] to kill him with his own hand but Mōngkā ordered his brother Bōjek to cut Pāchmān [*sic*] in two. Qājīr-Ūkūla of the Ās amirs [46] was also killed. That summer (Mōngkā) stayed there.

¹ **Kiral*, which suits better Hung. *király* "king" than Polish *król*. For the metathesis see the name of the river in Mongolia *Kelüren/Kerülen*.

² This paragraph is not in Juvaynī.

³ **Ba-jerge* "in an encircling movement, like at a *battue*". Juvaynī III, 10, uses another form of the word : *nerge*. In Turkish *n* (in some dialects) corresponds to *y* (*j*).

⁴ This episode corresponds to Juvaynī III, 10-11, who omits the names Ūlīrlīk and Qāchīr-Ūkūla.

⁵ I.e. the Ossets, but the name of the prince has not been identified. In Mongol *khachir* means "a mule", but a Mongol name among the Ossets is unlikely.

⁶ Here the editor supplies six lines of missing text from Juvaynī, see Qazvīnī's ed., iii, 10-11.

Then ¹ in the Taqıqu-yıl, which is the year of the Hen coinciding with the months of the year 634,² the sons of Chüchü (Jochi)-khan, Batu, Orda and Berke, the sons of the Qā'ān: Qadān, Güyük-khan and Mōngkā-qā'ān; the grandson of Chaghatay-khan, Böri, and the son of Chingiz-khan, Kūlkān, set forth to fight the Būqshī and Burtās (6*) whom they conquered in a short time.

In the autumn of this year (1237) all the princes who were in those parts held a *quriltay* and jointly marched on the Ūrūs. Batu, Orda, Güyük-khan, Mōngkā-qā'ān, Kūlkān, Qadān and Böri went together to lay siege to the town Riyazan (var. Arzān) (7*) which they took in 3 days. After this they also took the town (on the) İka (8*) where Kūlkān was wounded and died. One of the Russian amirs, Ūrmān by name (9*) advanced with an army but was defeated and killed. Acting jointly (the princes also) took Moskvā (10*) in 5 days and killed the amir of the town Ūlāy-Timūr (11*) by name. They besieged the town of great Yürki (12*) and took it in 8 days while (the enemies ?) were fighting hard. Mōngkā-qā'ān in person performed feats of valour until he defeated them. In five days the princes took the town Qyrnq.lā (?), which is the original home of V.zirlāv (13*). The local amir Yeke-Yürkü ('great' Yuri) (14*) fled into the forest but was caught and put to death. Then the princes went away and held a council (*kängäch*) and decided to march in *battue* columns (**jerge*) of 10,000 and to capture and destroy any province or fortress on their way. During that campaign Batu came to the town KSL-İSKA (15*) which he besieged for 2 months but could not capture. [47] After this Qadān and Böri arrived and the town was taken in 3 days. Then they went into houses and rested.

After this in the Nuqa-yıl, which is the year of the Dog, corresponding to the months of 635/1238, Qadān marched against the Cherkes and in winter their king, Būqān (Tūqān ?) by name, was killed. Shibān, Bōjek and Böri went to the region (*vilāyat*) of M.rym (*Qrīm ?) and of the territory of the Chīnjāq (*Khifchaq) tribe captured up to the norm (?) (16*). Berke marched in the direction of Qipehaq and, thanks to his good luck (?), they captured Mās and Qyrān, the leaders of the M.krūt (17*).

After that in the Qaqa-yıl, which is the year of the Hog, corresponding to the months of 636/1239, Güyük-khan, Mōngkā-qā'ān, Böri and Qadān marched ³ against the town MNKS (or MYKS ?) ⁴ and in the winter took it after a siege which lasted a month and 15 days. They ⁵ were still on that campaign (*cherik*, **jerge* ?) when the year of the Mouse (637/1240) came. In the spring (of 1240) they appointed troops (*cherik* 'levy') and gave them to Qūqdāy and sent the latter to Timūr-qahulqa ⁶ (with the order) to take it and its region. In the autumn of the year of the Mouse (1240) Güyük-khan and Mōngkā-qā'ān went back, in obedience to the *yarligh* (order) of the Qā'ān. In the year of the Ox, corresponding to the months of 638/1241, they reached their own camps."

¹ This record is not in Juvaynī. It opens the account of the campaign in the northern zone.

² The Muslim year 634 corresponds to 4th September, 1236–23rd August, 1237, but the Mongolian year (beginning in January–February) began in the later part of the Muslim year. Practically it corresponded to the Christian year 1237, as confirmed by the chronology of the events in Russian annals.

³ Only here, after a great gap in Juvaynī's text, do we catch up with the final part of his report.

⁴ Juvaynī's MKS.

⁵ Not in Juvaynī.

⁶ In Mongolian "Iron Gate", i.e. Darband.

In another chapter containing many obscure names (mostly in Mongolian forms) Rashīd al-dīn completes the account of the western campaigns of the Mongols.

[54] “ *The record of the princes of (in ?) Dasht-i Qipchaq*

In the autumn of the year of the Mouse, corresponding to the months of the year 637/1240, Güyük-khan and Möngkĕ-qā’ān, in obedience to the *yarliĝh* of the Qā’ān, returned from the Dasht-i Qipchaq. The princes Batu and his brothers Qadān, Böri and Böjek took the field against the country Ūrūs (Russia), the people of the Black-Caps (*kulāh-siyāh*, i.e. Qara-qalpaq) (18*) and in nine days took the great Ūrūs town called **Mankarmān* (i.e. Kiev) (19*). After this in *battue* order, and in detachments of 10,000, they went to all the towns of Ūladmūr (Vladimir) taking all the castles [55] and provinces which they found on their road. Jointly they besieged the town “ Vladimir-of-the-three-sons ” (*Ūch-oghul Ulādmur*) (20*) and took it in three days.

In the year of the Ox (638/1239) the Qā’ān (Ögedey) died ¹ and in the middle of the spring month the princes crossed the mountain B.rāq-tān (*Yarāq-yān ?*) in the direction of Pūlār and Bāshqurd (21*).

On the right flank,² Orda marched through the territory of Īlāvut when BZRNBĀM (22*) with an army appeared before him, and they killed him.

Qadān and Böri took the field against the Sāsān people (Saxons of Transylvania) and defeated them after three battles.

Böjek went by way of Qarā-Ūlagh (Black Vlachs) ³ across their mountains ; thence through the forests and the mountain of Yātāq-b.rq (see above) he reached the frontier (or the territory) of Mīsh-lāv (23*) and smote the rebels who were standing there in readiness.

The princes who followed those five (?) ⁴ roads captured all the territories of the Bāshqurd, *Mājār and Sāsān, and put to flight their king *Kīlar (**Király* ‘king’). They (spent) the summer on the river Tisza and TNHĀ (or T.HĀ, certainly *Tunā*, Danube).

Qadān with an army marched and took the territories Māqūt, Ūyraĝ (Aryarq ?), and Sarān (?) (24*) and chased the Kīral [*sic*], the sovereign of those kingdoms up to the sea. When (the king) embarked on a ship in the town M.līkīn (25*), which stands on the shore, and took to the sea, Qadān went back. After much fighting he (Qadān) captured QRQYN and QNBLA (??) in the town (*shahr*, country ?) of the Ūlāqūt (Wallachians) (26*).

The news of the Qā’ān’s death (11 Dec. 1241) had not yet reached the princes and after that in the year of the Tiger (639/1242) many Qipchaqs (who) had arrived to fight Kūt.n (27*) and Shīnqūr, son of *Jūchī, offered battle but were defeated. In the autumn [56] (the Qipchaqs ?) returned again and passed to the frontiers of Timur-qahulqa (Darband) and the mountains of that region. They (the princes) gave an army to Īlāvdar ⁵ and sent him, and he

¹ This date is wrong. Further down Rashīd himself seems to admit that during the operations of 1241 the princes had not yet heard of the death of the Qā’ān. According to Juvaynī I, 159, Ögedey died on 5 Jumādā II, 639/11th December, 1241.

² This is a second and much more detailed version of what Rashīd had copied from Juvaynī (see above).

³ According to Pelliot, *La Horde d’Or*, p. 153 : Moldavians.

⁴ The Chinese *Yüan-shi* also speaks of five roads followed by the Mongols, see Bretschneider, I, 331

⁵ Different from Qūqdāy mentioned under A.D. 1240.

went and captured the Qipchaqs who had fled to those parts. They (the princes ?) subjugated the territory of (the ?) Ūrūngqūt (and ?) Bādāch (28*) and brought their envoys. That year they remained in those parts.

In the beginning of the year of the Hare, corresponding to the months of the year 640/1243, on completion of the task of conquest (the princes) returned. The summer and the winter were spent on the road, and in the year of the Snake, corresponding to the months of the year 641/1244, they reached their homeland and halted at their own encampments. And God alone knows the truth."

§ 4. Notes on Rashīd al-dīn's Text

(1*) This part of Rashīd al-dīn's report, borrowed from Juvaynī and left undated, has got into the wrong place. Batu operated in the Carpathians and Hungary in 637/1240, and Rashīd himself devoted to this campaign a *special* chapter, ed. Blochet, 54–6 (see above, p. 227).

(2*) In his *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 1950, p. 130, Pelliot admits that Juvaynī's "Kalar and Bashghird" and Rashīd al-dīn's "*Bōlar (Būlū) and Bāshghird" have practically the same meaning and designate Hungary. Meanwhile, he thinks that originally *Bolar* referred to the Volga Bulgars. However, there is still some likelihood for the variant *Pālū* (restored by d'Ohsson and Berezin as *Polo*) reflecting some memory of Poland which was invaded before Hungary. As shown by K. Jahn in his edition of Rashīd's history of the Franks, 1951, pp. 8–9, Rashīd's source on European history was a book written by a Polish monk, Martinus Polonus (Opaviensis), and he must have heard the name of Poland.

(3*) The battle against the Hungarians was won at Mohi, on the right bank of the river Sayó, above its junction with the Tisza, on 11th April, 1241. On this occasion quarrels arose between Batu and Sübedey, see the translation of the latter's Chinese biography in Pelliot, 131. The Mongols spent the summer of 1241 on the Hungarian plain and on 25th December, 1241, crossed the Danube on the ice.

(4*) This paragraph, lacking in Juvaynī, presents great difficulties. Is the winter in question the winter of 1241? If so, one might identify the river Jāmān (**Yāmān*, in Turkish "evil, mischievous") with the Danube and locate KZNK/KRNK at Gran, which Batu captured after the crossing, and "the other provinces" in Croatia, etc., through which Qadan pursued king Béla. This, however, is very unlikely. Berezin apparently assumed that the events took place while the Mongol princes were returning from Hungary, for he located KZNK/KRNK at Kremenchug at a crossing of the Dnieper. In itself this identification is not conclusive and the chronology is again highly doubtful.

Rashīd al-dīn must introduce here some new source and we seem to go back to an earlier period of operations in Qipchaq (about 1237?), as suggested by the names Bāyān and Chīqū, which sound Turkish. After the episode of Bāyān and Chīqū comes the story of Bāchmān, who belonged to a Qipchaq tribe. According to the Chinese sources (Yüan-shi), the capture of this chief by Mōngka took place in 1237, see Marquart, *Komanen*, 115, and Pelliot's correction "A propos des Comans", *J.As.*, April, 1920, 766. Only after this did Mōngka take part in Batu's expedition. It is an interesting point that Mōngka, as he followed the bank of the Volga downstream, was on the left wing. This shows that the front was turned southwards (towards the Caucasus) and the operation

was directed against the Qipchaqs. If so, *Jāmān* must refer to one of the Russian rivers. In the *Secret History of the Mongols* the large rivers “ Adil and Jayakh ” are several times mentioned together. In § 270 it is said that beyond them lie Meket (*Magas) and Man-karman-Keyiba (Kiev). In § 274 the princes are said to have destroyed “ the towns of Ējil (Edil ?), Jayakh and Meget. Our *Jāmān* (جامان) might be restored as *Jayakh (جايخ). The latter is usually taken for the Yayiq (Ural), though in the order of enumeration it should be located between the Volga (Adil) and the Caucasus (Meget, see below). But between the Volga and the Caucasus there is only one great river, the Terek (in Georgian *Lomeki*, in Old Armenian *Arm*). The Kuma flowing north of the Terek is much less important, but on it stood an important centre called Majar (see below, p. 236). Could not جامان *Jāmān* be only a metathesis of *ماجار *Mājār* ?

(5*) This report on Bājman is borrowed from Juvaynī III, 9–11, where, without any chronological reference, it is quoted as an introduction to the election of Möngka in 649/1251. On the real date (1237) see note (4*).

(6*) Already Berezin in his article “ The first Mongol invasion ”, p. 91, identified *Tūqshi* (**Būqshi*) with the Mordvan tribe Moksha. Burtās seems to be a general Islamic name for the Mordvans, see *Hūdūd*, § 52, though possibly derived from some particular Mordvan tribe.

(7*) Riazan, which was defended by Prince Yuri, son of Igor, was taken on 21st December, 1237. The Chinese transcription *Ye-lie-tsan*, Pelliot, l.c., 166, shows that the spelling must be ارزان, probably **Irazan* (to avoid an initial *r*).

(8*) Kolomna on the Oka (*اوکه).

(9*) Yuri's brother Roman, defender of Kolomna.

(10*) Var. *Makār*, *Makārd*. At that time Moscow was still a secondary town of the Suzdal principality.

(11*) Vladimir, son of the Grand Duke Yuri.

(12*) The town of Vladimir, capital of the Grand Duke Yuri, was taken after a siege lasting seven days (2nd–8th February, 1238).

(13*) Name mutilated. The town of Suzdal was raided simultaneously with Vladimir, and Suzdal was the original fief of the grand-dukes. Reading at the end of *V.zīrlāv lād* (لاد) instead of *lav* (لاو) one might think of *Vsevolod, the reference being not to the earliest fief-holder of Suzdal, Vsevolod, son of Yaroslav, but to the Grand Duke Yuri's father Vsevolod III, “ the Great Nest ” (1176–1212), under whom Suzdal became the leading principality. Vsevolod's residence was Vladimir (founded in 1108) but in any case the principality was called after the town of Suzdal. Should we consider only the graphic form of قيرنقلا or قيرقلا it might be restored as *فيرزلاو *Pereyaslavl*, which was also taken in the Suzdal area, but then the qualification “ original home ” would remain without explanation. Instead of Berezin's **Pereyaslavl*, Pelliot, l.c., 115, on the basis of the Chinese biography of Sübütäy, would suggest Torzhok, but this is too far from the pattern found in the MSS.

(14*) The Grand Duke Yuri, son of Vsevolod, was killed on 4th March, 1238 (old style) in the battle on the Sit, north of the Volga.

(15*) Undoubtedly Kozelsk, which resisted for seven weeks. Blochet's reading *Kiev-matushka* (!) and further explanation, Appendix, p. 26, are pure fantasy, see Pelliot, *La Horde d'Or*, 114. Rashīd al-dīn himself speaks separately

of the campaign of 1240 during which Kiev (*Män-kärmän) was taken (see below). كسل ایسکه stands in the best MS. of Tashkent (instead of Blochet's کیلانیکه).

(16*) *M.rym* looks very much like *Q.rīm* (and the best MS. gives *Qrīm*). Elsewhere the Crimea is mentioned only in the course of the raid of 1223. *Tā ba-qarār* "up to the norm, or agreement" does not make sense. Very probably instead of *qarār* one should insert some place name.

(17*) These three names are unknown. K. V. Kudryashov's recent work, *Polovetskaya step*, Moscow, 1948, is inaccessible to me.

(18*) The Russians called *Chornūye klobuki* "Black caps" those Turks whom they established as their frontier-guards on the middle Dnieper, and especially on its right tributary, Ros', see D. Rasovsky, "Pechenegi, Torki i Berendei," in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Praha, 1933, vii, p. 54.

(19*) Man-karmän (kärmän) is one of the various names of Kiev: in Norse, Kœnugarðr, in Arabic, *Kūyāba*, in Greek, *Κιοάβα* and *Σαμβατάς* (the latter perhaps of Khazar origin: cf. *Sam-karsh* in I. Faqih, 271, for I. Rusta's *Karkh*, read *Karj, i.e. Kerch). Nizām al-dīn Shāmī, in his *Zafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, 161, says that in the course of his campaign in Qipchaq (797/1395) Timur reached the river (of) Mankarmän "in the direction of the river Ūzī (Dnieper)"; better in Sharaf al-dīn's *Zafar-nāma*, i, 759 ("the river Ūzī and the place called Mankarmän). Contarini, in *Hakluyt Society*, 49, 1873, p. 112, also confirms that in his time (1474) Chio (Kiev) was still called *Magraman*. The element *Man* is obscure (but see the name of the peninsula *Man-qīshlag* on the Caspian). The word *karmän* (**kärmän*) in the sense of "town, fortress" is attested in many southern Russian place names: Aq-kerman (in Russian Бѣлгород, Phrantzes, 308, *Ἀσπρόκαστρον*), Kremenchug (Kermen-chuk, with a diminutive Turkish suffix). The word is of Uralo-Altaiic origin and is found in Turkish dialects, see Radloff, ii, 1108, with reference to *Codex Cumanicus* (ed. Copenhagen, 1936, p. 141, 6). Cf. *OLZ*, 1942, pp. 146-7.

(20*) The name definitely refers to Vladimir-in-Volynia to which the Mongols proceeded after the capture of Kiev. It is true that in 1117 Volynia was occupied by Vladimir Monomach, grandson of Yaroslav, but the town Vladimir is known since 988. It is likely that "Three-sons" is only a qualification contemporary with the campaign. After the death of Roman of Galicia (1205) his energetic widow Anna (of whose activities there seems to have existed a special record) temporarily withdrew to Vladimir with her sons Daniel (four years old) and Vasilkó (two years old). After numerous adventures the sons of Roman recovered their fief and the town of Vladimir was reoccupied about 1217. See V. T. Pashuto, *Ocherki . . . Galitsko-Volīnskoy Rusi*, Moscow, 1950, pp. 19, 63, 194, 201. It would be tempting to connect the name of the town (*üch-oghul Ūlādmūr*) with the adventures of Roman's sons. But our sources speak only of his three daughters, supposed (?) to have been born of his first wife Predslava, and of his two sons, Daniel and Vasilkó, born of Anna, see Baumgarten, "Généalogies . . . des Rurikides russes," in *Orientalia Christiana*, May, 1927, ix/1, No. 35, tables v and xi. We should have to postulate the existence of a third son, or more likely, to admit that a daughter was considered as a third *oghul*. In fact this Turkish term can eventually cover children of both sexes. In 1228 Daniel married off his sister Salome to the prince of Pomorye (German: "Pommern"). At the death of her father she must have

been very young and therefore must have been born of Anna. Thus in the eyes of the Qipchaq and the Mongols the three *oghul* may have been Daniel, Vasilkó and Salome.

(21*) Blochet himself doubted his restoration **Yapraq-tagh*. Pelliot, 130, using Chinese transcriptions (*Ha-tsa-li*) suggests *Qazaq-tagh*, or *Qashqa-tagh* "the bald mountain" (?). All we can say is that the name refers to the Carpathians. The variants are ماناق برق, (مراق مان), ماناق برق

(22*) Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa*, 1893, p. 97, opposes Rumanian etymologies for BZRNĀM, and the fact is that Orda's northern column marched through Poland. Pelliot, o.c., 159, explains *Īlāvut* as a Mongolian plural of *Lah* "Poles", and on p. 145 contests Strakosch's surmise, p. 43, that BZRNĀM was a Lithuanian prince. For BZRNĀM Pelliot suggests, p. 160, the reading *Pakoslav or *Boleslav. Only the last name, **Būlazlāv* بولزلاو, would have some remote likeness to BZRNĀM بزرنام and, in fact, the prince Boleslav-the-Pudic of Sandomir tried unsuccessfully to stop the Mongols near Opolye, though he did not die till 1279.

(23*) *Mish-lāv* is a puzzle. Strakosch, 97, denies the existence of any contemporary Rumanian records. On his Map, *on the way* of Böjek (west of Herrmanstadt and Mühlbach) he shows the town Saxvár (or Sásvár, south of the southern bend of the Marosh). In Arabic script *Mish-lāv* ميشلاو might be restored as **Saks-vár* سكس وار (?).

(24*) For the first of these names Strakosch, p. 166, suggests Makhov on the Sava; the second is entirely obscure; the third might be restored as "Serbians" (?); cf. Strakosch, 169, on the devastation of a part of Serbia. The fact, however, is that in this chapter most of the tribal names (with the exception of *Sāsān* "Saxons") have the form of Mongolian plurals in *-ut*. One of the mutilated names might correspond to Zagreb (Agram).

(25*) It was in Trau (in Serbian: Trogir), on a peninsula west of Spalato that the king embarked his family on a ship (in March, 1242), Strakosch, p. 168. *Spalit* سپليت is probably Split (the Serbian name of Spalato).

(26*) The only possible translation is to take Q.rqīn (Qūqīn) and *Q.nb.la (Qabil) for personal names of some Turks (Qipchaqs?) captured in the town (chief-town?) of the Ūlāqūt (*Vlaq*, Wallachians).

(27*) The text seems to be out of order. Kūtan (in Russian Кутян) is the name of a well-known Qipchaq prince, son-in-law of Mstislav of Halich, who after the Mongol advance fled to Hungary and became a Christian. In the exasperation caused by the Mongol invasion the Hungarians put Kūtan (Kuthen) to death and his men moved across the Danube to Bulgaria, see Strakosch, pp. 72-5. The Kūtan mentioned in our text may be a different person, but by transposing *ba-jang* and reading **ba-jangi-i Shīngqūr* one might suggest that "the Qipchaqs of Kūtan", who had come to fight Shīngqūr, son of Jochi, were defeated. Shīngqūr was the ninth son of Jochi, see Rashīd, ed. Blochet, p. 124.

(28*) Neither of these names can be identified. As a guess one can assume that all these operations were directed against the remnants of the Qipchaq (Quman, Polovtsi) tribes. *Bādāch* might be restored as Bārāch.

§ 5. Magas a Caucasian Town

Rashīd al-dīn's text, though partly based on Juvaynī, or on the same sources as Juvaynī's, is more detailed¹: it expands the account of the Mongol campaigns in Eastern Europe and gives a fair enumeration of Russian towns.

In Juvaynī, 222, the name MKS follows immediately on Rūs, and this circumstance became the cause of much confusion.² In Rashīd al-dīn MNKS (MYKS) is separated from the Rūs both in space and in time. At least one of the participants in the expedition (Bōri) seems to have marched to MNKS after the conquest of *مریم* *M.rym*, which I am inclined to restore as *قریم* *Qrīm* (Crimea).

In Juvaynī's short reference to the Russian campaign the details have been omitted, either intentionally or through a misunderstanding, such as a confusion of the name of Moscow with that of the Caucasian *Magas. As already pointed out, in the thirteenth century Moscow was still an insignificant place in comparison with Riazan, Vladimir, and other towns of the Suzdal principality enumerated in Rashīd al-dīn.

Our comparison of Juvaynī and Rashīd confirms the view that Juvaynī's MKS (MNKS) can refer only to the Caucasian *Magas. In Persian *magas* means "a fly", and Juvaynī's metaphors relating to the world of insects and reptiles are all based on this meaning. It also helps to explain the baffling pun about the Mongols who left in *Magas nothing "except its namesakes" (i.e. flies).³

The Chinese history of the Mongol dynasty also mentions the Caucasian town conquered in 1239 ("after a three months' siege"). Its name is differently transcribed but the variants⁴ suggest a foreign *Makas. Its association with the Caucasus is clear from the name A-su which precedes it: "the Makas of the Ās."⁵

Even the so-called "Secret history of the Mongols" (§§ 270, 274, 275) several times refers to the same place under the name *Meget*, in which *t* apparently represents some Mongol morphological development of *Meget*.⁶

¹ The same remark applies to some other passages. See the exposition of the Ismā'īlī doctrines in Juvaynī, iii, and in Rashīd al-dīn, quoted by R. Levy, *JRAS.*, 1930, 509–536.

² Recently: Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 1937, p. 446: "*M.k.s* mentioned [in Juvaynī, 222] together with Bulghār seems to refer to the Moksha (a Mordvan tribe)"; Pelliot, *La Horde d'Or*, 124, distinguishes between the two towns bearing similar names but finally takes Juvaynī's **Makas* for Moscow (in some contradiction with his former and correct statement in *Jour. As.*, Avril, 1920, pp. 168–9).

³ The text can be read only as "*juz ham-nām-i ān naquzāshand*", *ham-nām* being "namesake".

⁴ *Yüan-shi*, 2, 7a, and 122, 13b: *Miä-khiä-si*; 128, 14b: *Mai-khiä-si*; 132, 9a: *Mai-ko-si*. The variants of the first syllable also occur in the transcription of *Ma-* in *Märkit*, see Pelliot-Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, 1951, i, 217. (This note is by my lamented friend, Professor G. Haloun (d. 23rd December, 1951), who was ever ready to help me with his advice on Far Eastern matters.)

⁵ Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 309–317.

⁶ In his translation E. Haenisch, p. 188, wrongly explains *Meget*, *Meket* = *Mekes*, as "*die Hauptstadt Georgiens, Mzchet bei Tiflis*". In 1239 the Mongols did not cross the Caucasus and Mtskheta has nothing to do with the Ās.

§ 6. Mas'ūdī and others on the Alān Capital

In the highly important description of the Caucasus by Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ii, 42, the capital of the Alāns¹ is called *منصص *M.γ.š.*, in which *š* might have the value of *š*, but it is likely that Mas'ūdī's transcription is due to his desire to render foreign sounds in an unequivocal way rather than to any phonetical peculiarities of the name. Had he written كك it would give *k* instead of *g*, whereas س *s* might be mistaken for ش *š*. Besides, مكس would be read *maks* "a non-Islamic tax". For the transcription of a Persian *s* by ص see مصنعان *Maṣ-Mughān, Tabari, i, 2656.

Mas'ūdī gives his own interpretation of the name as ديانة (ed. Paris) or دمانة (ed. Cairo). The first can only mean "piety", and its variant "mildness". Following on our previous statements we can now restore the name (simply by moving the dots) as *ذبابة *dhībāba*, or ذبابة *dhībāna*, both meaning in Arabic "a fly". Thus a puzzle is removed from Mas'ūdī's text and it is brought into line with the other sources.

There is still another text which can be understood only in the light of the above interpretation. Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, confirms that the kingdom of "the Master of the throne" (*Ṣāhib al-Sarīr*) lay in the mountains and bordered on the kingdom of the Alāns. It is now an accepted fact that the "Master of the throne" ruled over the Caucasian Avars,² who even in our days continue to occupy the valley of the main branch of the Qoy-su (Sulaq). This king, who was paramount in northern Daghestan,³ professed Christianity.⁴ The king of the Alāns was married to the sister of the king of the Sarīr, and the latter to the sister of the former, but Mas'ūdī restrictively adds "at this time", as if leaving the door open to the supposition that at other times the relations between the neighbours were not necessarily cloudless.

The Persian geography *Hudūd al-Ālam*, compiled in 372/982, gives a short description of the Sarīr country (§ 49), which runs on parallel lines with I. Rusta and Gardizī but adds a curious detail. "It is reported that in the mountains (of the Sarīr) live flies (*magas*), each as big as a partridge. Every now and then the king sends to the place where the flies dwell large quantities of carrion of slaughtered or dead cattle and of game. It is thrown there for the nourishment (of the flies), for if they grow hungry they come and devour every man and animal whom they happen to meet."

This story has all the appearance of a superstructure on the name of the

¹ Both Alān and Ās refer to the same people, the ancestors of the present-day Ossets (*Ous-et'i* in Georgian, "the country of the Ous," i.e. Ās). *Alān* seems to be the north-Iranian form of "Aryan" (*ry > l*). The reason of the double appellation *Alān/Ās* is not clear. It is possibly due to the existence of two cognate tribes which formed the Osset people, which even now speaks three different dialects.

² And most probably over some neighbouring tribes of the Northern Caucasus, such as the Chechens.

³ Cf. I. Rusta, p. 147, and Gardizī in Barthold, *Otchet*, p. 101.

⁴ Mas'ūdī's statement to this effect is confirmed by such names of the rulers as Bukht-Yishō' found in the old history of Bāb al-abwāb (compiled before 500/1106) which I am publishing.

Alān capital, and possibly echoes some unpleasant obligation of the king of Sarīr to placate his turbulent neighbours.

Mas'ūdī clearly distinguishes between the Alān capital (*dār mamlakat al-Lān*), called **Maghaṣ*, and the "Alānian castle" (*qal'at al-Lān*) situated "between the Alān kingdom and Mt. *Qabkh (Caucasian range)", i.e. the castle situated in the Darial gorge. In Mas'ūdī's time the latter was occupied by the descendants of the Arab garrison posted there in the time of Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik.

According to Juvaynī *Magas lay among dense woods and it must have been a very strong place for its siege lasted 45 days (Rashīd al-dīn), or even three months (Yüan-shi). It is not quite clear whether this expedition was connected with any misdeeds of the Ās leader called Qāchīr-Ūkūla, who (in 1237) was associated with the Qipchaq leader Bāchmān.

I am told by Professor H. W. Bailey that in the present-day Ossetic there is no word for "fly" corresponding to Persian *magas* (or Avestan *makhshi*). Some ancient or local word may have been equated by the Muslims to Persian *magas*. Even if Mas'ūdī's *منص* (M.γ.ṣ, or *M.γ.č) points to some peculiarities of pronunciation, the fact is that both in Arabic and Persian the name was definitely interpreted as "a fly", and in Mongol times transcribed *Makas*/**Magas* both by the Chinese and the Muslims.

The location of the Alān capital depends chiefly on archæological exploration on the spot. The name is surely an important pointer, but a mere comparison of **Magas* with the present-day place-names is insufficient. D'Ohsson¹ once compared "Magas" with "Mokhatschla", situated on the Cherek (a left tributary of the Terek rising in Balkaria). The north-western limit of the Osset settlements nowadays is along the more easterly Uruk (Iruf) but, as shown by V. F. Miller, the toponymy of Balkaria is Osset. The Turks have ousted the Ossets from the valleys situated between the Elbrus and Uruk, and the Ossets themselves have transferred on these late-comers their own name Asi (Islamic Ās). The name "Mokhatschla" seems to have disappeared from the maps but the name still existing in the Osset territory is *Makhchesk*. This place lies near the Caucasian range in Digoria, i.e. in the south-west corner of the present-day Osset autonomous republic. It is situated on the upper course of the Uruk.² This valley formed the fief of the princes Abisal, and close to Makhchesk stands the family fortress of the former princes Tughan. A traveller who visited it towards the end of the nineteenth century described it as "a fortress of a truly great size".³

One further possibility should be considered. Early Muslim sources, dealing

¹ *Les peuples du Caucase*, 1828, p. 23.

² Uruk is a left tributary of the Terek. On the Uruk too lies a place called *Moska* (apparently insignificant).

³ K. D. Gan (Hahn), *Sborn. opisaniya mest. i plemen Kavkaza*, quoted in Countess Uvarov's *Materiali archeologii Kavkaza*, 1900, viii, 254. On the other hand, according to Pfaff (see Miller, l.c., p. 36), the capital of the ancient Alān kingdom should be looked for on the Fiag-don, which flows between the Uruk and the Terek.

as they do with the larger political divisions, are silent regarding the smaller tribes of the Northern Caucasus. They say nothing about the considerable group of the Chechen-Ingush tribes which separate Daghestan proper from the Ossets. It is likely that these warlike tribes, occupying a mountainous and highly wooded country, formed a bone of contention between the rulers of the Sarīr and the kings of the Ās (Alān, Osset). The legend in the *Hudūd* would suggest that the pernicious “flies” remained outside the direct control of the Sarīr and formed some special enclave. Archæologists will have to consider whether *Mayas/Magas* should not be sought within the Chechen-Ingush territory loosely connected with the Alān kingdom.

Curiously enough the local Turks give the Chechens a nickname which has some outward likeness to *Magas. It is differently spelt in various sources: Muhammad Rafī (in Kazem-beg, *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, 1851, p. 217): *M.ġ.x.j*, possibly **Michijikh*; Klaproth, *Tableau . . . du Caucase*, 1827, p. 63: “Mitzdjegh”; Budagov, *Sravnit. Slovar*, 1869, ii, 272: میچغیز *Michighiz*; other Russian sources: *Misjeg*, *Mizjeg*.

§ 7. Magas and Dzauji-qāu

It looks as if Magas did not survive its destruction by the Mongol princes in 1239 (?). The later mentions of its name are surely simple reminiscences of Juvaynī’s statement. Thus Wassāf, who compiled his history between 1312 and 1328, copied the passage of Juvaynī, with its entomological hints, but the Bombay edition, p. 569, mis-spells the name of the town: R.L.SH and computes the number of the ears cut off by the Mongols as 1270. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi, in the Preface to his *Tarīkh-i guzāda* (730/1330), also refers to the conquest of M.K.S., see Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik . . . Zolotoy ordi*, ii, 1941, p. 248.

The name M.K.S emerges even in the history of Timur, *Zafar-nāma*, compiled by Sharaf al-din Yazdi in 828/1424. In his Introduction (*muqaddima*) he quotes the name of Magas in telling the story of the Chingizids who had ruled in Dasht-i Qipchaq. This episode is obviously *borrowed* from Juvaynī (trees which had to be felled for the passage of four carts abreast, 270,000 [*sic*] ears cut off), see Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, ii, 145. On the other hand when under 790/1388 Sharaf al-dīn (ed. Bombay, i, 461) enumerates the provinces from which Toqtamīsh drew his army the reference to Magas is surely anachronistic.

- “ From Rus, Cherkes, Bulghar and Qipchaq ;
 “ From Qrīm with its Kaffa (Theodosia), Alān and Azāq (Azov),
 “ As well as from Bashqird and *Magas*
 “ A mighty army was collected.”

The only interest of this poetry is that its metre supports the reading Magas (—). Magas is also mentioned (i, 776) in the enumeration of the parts of Dasht-i Qipchaq conquered by Timur in 798/1396: “ Ūkak, Mājar, Rūs, Cherkes, Bāshqird, M.K.S, Balchīmkin (?), Qrīm (Crimea), Azāq (Azov), Qūbān (Kuban), and Alān.” As, however, Magas is not referred to in the actual report on the course of the campaign, we can safely take the reference to it for a mere stylistic embellishment inherited from the earlier authors.

In fact, already in the latter part of the thirteenth century we find in Russian sources an entirely different name. In 1277 the khan of the Golden Horde “Mangu-Temir” led some Russian princes against the Ās. The princes captured and sacked “the town of the As (Яеский городъ), famous Dyetyakov (Детяковъ)”. In February, 1318, prince Michael of Tver was murdered in the Horde when the latter (having travelled from the Azov sea) was “beyond the Terek on the river Sevents (Sunja),¹ near the town Tyetyakov, beyond the high mountains of the Ās and Cherkes (apparently the Besh-tau Mountains), near the Iron Gate”.² The Nikon Codex adds: “near the copper statue (болванъ),³ near (its ?) golden head, near the tomb of Temir-bogatir (*bahādur*)”. Michael’s body was taken across the river Аджъ to Мајар, thence to the Ās town Бездежъ (?), and finally to Moscow. Of the river it is said that it is “called sorrow (bitterness ?)”, which leaves no doubt about the original Turkish name *Aji “bitter”.⁴ Мајар (strangely spelt Моджжъчары) was a town on the left bank of the Kuma, downstream from its confluence with the Buyvola. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town under the same khan Özbek.⁵ *Bezdež* was identified

¹ In the Troitsk Chronicle, as restored by Priselkov (published in 1950), p. 356: “Tsar Ozbek” killed Michael “on the river” Naya, near the town Dyedyakov. Here НАИ can be only a bad reading of the last letters of СевеиЦѢ.

² The “Iron Gate” is a classical name for Darband, but (a) here it may be used only to indicate the *approximate* direction, and (b) we have instances in the Russian Chronicles when the *Iron Gate* refers indifferently to the Caucasian chain. In the life of Daniel of Galicia it is said that “he chased khan Otrok (Atraq ?) into the Obez land (Abkhazia) beyond the Iron Gate”. Abkhazia lies at the westernmost end of the Caucasus, some 600 kilometres from Darband, as the crow flies.

³ The “statue, image” (though said to be of *copper*) is likely to be a Turkish *balbal* (from which Russian *bolvan* and *baba* (каменная баба) are derived), i.e. a stone image of an enemy placed at the funerary mound of a Turkish hero. Niẓāmī (who died in 605/1209) in his *Iskandar-nāma* (composed in 591/1200), Tehran, 1316/1937, 427–8, says that when Alexander marching against the Russians penetrated into the steppe of Qifchaq, he was shocked by the freedom of the Qipchaq women going about unveiled. His sage made out of black stone a talisman in the shape of a veiled maiden, and the women took example from her. “That talisman still stands there”: the Qifchaqs approaching it bow before it; a horseman deposits an arrow in its honour (*dar kish-i ū*) and a herdsman offers a sheep to it which is devoured by the eagles hovering over it. Some vague memory of the image may have survived even in the *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517) of the learned Polish doctor Maciej z Miechova, who (Part II, ch. iv) states that beyond Viatka [*sic*], in Scythia, there exists a great idol called Zlotababa (“Golden woman”) worshipped by local tribes who make offerings to it, be it of a hide or even of a hair, after which the visitor “inclinando se cum reverentia pertransit”. This latter report may have been influenced, however, by the report of the Russian chronicle of Khlinov on the capture by Novgorodians (in 1174) of a town on the Viatka, called Bolvansky, because of a heathen statue (болван) found in it.

⁴ The identity of this river is not clear. According to Karamzin, ed. 1842, iv, note 237, this is “the Gorkaya which flows into the Caspian”. On the recent maps a Gorkaya (“Bitter”) river belongs to the basin of the Manich, to the north-west of the Kuma basin. This seems to be the *Aji mentioned in the Chronicle.

⁵ Ed. Defrémery, ii, 375. It is tempting to identify Özbek’s wife Bayalshi (?), who according to the Chronicle saved Michael’s followers, with Özbek’s wife Bayalün, a Byzantine princess whom Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa accompanied to Constantinople where she was going for her confinement. This journey is supposed to have taken place towards 1334 (?), and in this case Bayalun must have been very young in 1318. [Correction. Pelliot, l.c., 84–5, avers that the name Bayalun was borne by Özbek’s mother, and possibly by two of his wives, of whom the first died in 1323.]

by Karamzin with Vezedevo on the Volga (downstream from Yenotayevsk), which is not at all conclusive. Briefly the description of the funerary train does not throw any additional light on the position of the starting point, Dyetyakov. It may have lain on the Sunja,¹ but the use of the word "near", or "by", in the Chronicle is only approximate, as shown by the reference to the Iron Gate.

V. F. Miller, *Oset. etyudi*, iii (1887), 69–70, compared the final element of Dyetya-kov with Osset *qāu* "settlement", and hinted at its identity with Vladikavkaz which the Ossets call Dzauji-qāu (from the personal name Dzawag). Vladikavkaz lies "beyond the Terek, several (geographical) miles to the west of the Sunja and north of Darial", and thus seems to fulfil the conditions of Dyetyakov, but the sites of homonymous settlements often do not coincide exactly.²

What interests us here is that there is no argument known in favour of the identity of Dyetyakov with the earlier Magas. In support of this view one might additionally quote the record of the Georgian Chronicle (transl. Brosset, i, 412) on the first marriage of Queen T'amar, towards 1185–6, i.e. at a period *before* the Mongol invasion. The Chronicle reports that T'amar's *fiancé*, the Russian prince George, said to be a son of Andrew Bogolubsky,³ expelled by his uncle Savalt' (Vsevolod), was staying with the king of the Qipchaq "in the town of Svinj". This latter name obviously refers to the right tributary of the Terek, which the *Zafar-nāma*, i, 743, calls سونج,—in old Russian *Sevents*, and now *Sunj(a)*. This detail suggests that the residence of the Qipchaq ruler was *not* on the Terek where Vladikavkaz (the present-day Dzauji-qāu) stands, but lay to the east of it, on the Sunja. The Golden Horde must have inherited this residence.

§ 8. Conclusions

As a result of our investigations we can state that:—

1. A comparison of the reports on the western campaigns of the Mongols in Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn has brought to light the lacunæ in the former and the composite character of the latter text. Some improvements in the interpretation of Rashīd al-dīn's text have been suggested.

2. Juvaynī, by drastically abridging the report on the Mongol campaigns, left out the account of operations in Russia. His text contains no reference to Moscow and the latter is referred to only in Rashīd al-dīn.

3. MNKS/MKS of these two authors refers to a Caucasian town, capital of the Alāns (Ossets), destroyed in 1239.

¹ Which at the latitude of Vladikavkaz flows nearly parallel to the Terek, but then swings to the N.E. and only past Grozny joins this major stream.

² Karamzin, iv, note 157 (p. 59), says that Dyedyakov probably corresponds to the "Diven, or Dedukh". These names are not on the present-day maps. A *Datikh* is shown in the Chechen country on the Fortanga flowing to the east of the Assa, see J. Baddeley, *The rugged flanks of Caucasus*, 1940, ii, map v.

³ On him see now the Georgian novel by Shalva Dadiani, *Yuri Bogolubsky* (Russ. trans., Tbilisi, 1951).

4. The reading of MKS as *MAGAS is supported by the allusions in the text and clears up several mysterious references in Islamic sources.

5. The location of the Alān capital (not identical with the Darial castle) can be ascertained only by archæological investigation on the spot. Etymologies and assonances are insufficient in such matters; they can point either to Digoria, or even to the Chechen-Ingush territory.

6. The Osset settlement Dzauji-qāu (in old Russian *Dyetyakov*), now identified with the site of the later Vladikavkaz, seems to be different from Magas.

PS.—This article is dedicated to the Scientific Research Institutes of Dzauji-qau and Ulaan-Baatar, with apologies for my shortcomings. 28. iv. 1952.



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS



Caucasica IV

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1953), pp. 504-529

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608652>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:51 UTC

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Caucasica IV

By V. MINORSKY

THE territory of the present-day Soviet republic of Azarbayjan roughly corresponds to the ancient Caucasian Albania (in Armenian *Ałovan-k'*, or *Ałvan-k'*, in Arabic *Arrān* > *al-Rān*). Twenty-six languages were spoken in Albania and it had its own kings (Strabo, xi, 4). However, during the seven centuries between Pompey's expedition in 66–5 B.C., to which we owe most of our information on the ancient life of the country, and the Arab invasion in the 7th century A.D., great changes had taken place in the area, under the influence of the Persian expansion up to the Caucasian passes, the Khazar and Alān inroads from the north, and the Armenian cultural activities which resulted in the conversion of the surviving Albanians to the Armenian form of Christianity. The Arab geographers refer to the Arrānian language as still spoken in the neighbourhood of Barda'a (Persian: *Pērōz-ābādh*, Armenian *Partav*), but now only the two villages inhabited by the Udi¹ are considered as the direct continuators of the Albanian linguistic tradition.

Our object being the study of the conditions in the 9th–10th centuries, we are not concerned with the further great changes brought about by the invasion of the Turkish Oghuz in the 11th century and the subsequent Turkicization of the area.

Both the Armenian and the Arabic sources show that the Arab occupation did not do away with the old Arrānian and Armenian dynasties, which continued their existence as vassals of the conquerors. Profiting by every occasion to assert their hereditary rights, they succeeded in 'tiding over' the Arabs, the Seljuks, and the Mongols, and even now the so-called 'Qarabagh highlands' form an autonomous area within the Soviet Republic of Azarbayjan.²

The period of decline of the semi-independent principalities presents great difficulties for study. Both in Arabic³ and Armenian⁴ sources the light is turned on to special episodes and we are left to conjecture as to the connecting links. The work of the indigenous historian of 'Albania', Moses Kałankatvats'i, who wrote in Armenian (10th century), contains many important data, but his obscure hints and sudden breaks in the main thread are often exasperating.⁵ A particular complication results from the contemporary Armenian fashion of assuming Arabic patronymics (*kunya*) (such as Abū-Mūsā, Abul-Asad, etc.),

¹ Cf. Plinius, N.H., 6, 13, 16: *Otene*; *Arm. Geography: Uti*. This ancient province extended probably on both banks of the Kur, whereas the surviving villages lie in the Shakkī district near to the passes leading into southern Daghestan.

² To say nothing of the numerous Armenian villages in the whole of Eastern Transcaucasia.

³ Balādhuri (d. 279/892), Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), Ṭabarī (d. 311/923).

⁴ Thomas Artsruni (before A.D. 1000), Asolīk (soon after A.D. 1000) and some later historians, like Stephannos Orbelian (about A.D. 1300).

⁵ I am using his *History of Albania* in the Russian translation of K. Patkanian, St. Petersburg, 1861; for a number of clarifications I am obliged to Mr. C. Dowsett, who is preparing a new edition of the Armenian text.

without any connexion with the original Armenian names. These latter too often recur in otherwise unrelated families, and it becomes difficult to discriminate between several Sahl, Vasaks, and Smbats living at the same time.

On the Islamic side, we have chiefly to profit by the moments when some violent events cut across the local divisions. Such were: the revolt of Bābak (822–837) and its repression; the overthrow of the independent Arab amir of Tiflis (852); the severe measures which the caliph's general Bugha took against his earlier allies, ending in the deportation to Mesopotamia of nearly all the Armenian princes (854 ?); and finally (in the early 10th century) the great movement of Iranian tribes leading to the short-lived rise of the Daylamite chief Marzubān ibn Muḥammad ibn Musāfir, whose sway in Azarbayjan spread across the Araxes and even the Kur up to the foot of the Caucasian range.

Of the two studies which follow, one is devoted to the sudden elevation of Sahl, son of Sunbāt, at the period of Bābak's revolt, and the second to the list of Marzubān's tributaries preserved in the text of the geographer Ibn Ḥauqal (A.D. 977).

I. Sahl ibn-Sunbāt of Shakkī and Arrān

- § 1. General situation on the Araxes and the Kur.
- § 2. Elevation of Sahl.
- § 3. His successors.
- § 4. 'Īsā ibn-Iṣṭifānūs.

§ 1. *General Situation*

Before introducing Sahl, son of Sunbāt, it will be useful to enumerate the protagonists among the Arab vassals about the year A.D. 820. On the southern bank of the Araxes, in the mountainous region now called Qaraja-dagh¹ and extending north of the line uniting Ardabil and Tabriz, we are soon to hear of the great rebellion of Bābak against the caliph's representatives and troops. Opposite Qaraja-dagh, on the northern bank of the Araxes and up to the course of the Kur, there lies another hilly tract which, at the time in question, was studded with small principalities. In its north-eastern corner (on the Terter) lay the dominions of the descendants of ancient Albanian kings issued from one Mihran (of Sasanian times). In the south-eastern corner of Albania, along the banks of the Araxes, we hear of several princes (of Xtiš, of Varthān) whose origin is not quite clear. In the west² stretched the country called Siunia (in Armenian Siunik') whose rulers belonged to a special Armenian family of descendants of Sisak.³

The southern bank of the Kur seems to have depended on the Mihranids, but the situation here was unstable. Beyond the Kur we find the considerable Muslim principality of Sharvān, a survival from Sasanian times, but now ruled by

¹ I am inclined to think that Turkish *Qaraja*- stands here, as a popular etymology, for some ancient name, cf. the second element of *B.lwān-karaj* (?), quoted in *E.I.* under *Urm*.

² Chiefly to the west of the Akera.

³ Though mixed with other elements, see Stephannos Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, ch. 14, transl. Brosset, 1864, i, 32. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, pp. 67–74.

the family of the Yazīdids of the Shaybānī tribe. West of Sharvān was situated Qabala, with a mixed population (including even some Khazars) but ruled by a Christian prince. In the west it bordered on Shakkī, also with a Christian dynasty. The origins of the princes of Qabala and Shakkī are little known, but in view of constant intermarriage we have to assume their manifold links with the princes of the right bank.¹ The special 'Albanian' patriarchate of the Armenian church formed the link between the two banks. Still more to the west, in the basin of the Alazan, the situation is obscure, and there seems to have existed there a special fief called in Georgian Heret'ī. Still further to the west lies the present-day Kakhetia, now inhabited by Georgians; at the time in question it was ruled by a *korikoz* (χωρεπίσκοπος),² possibly of the Armenian faith, and the leadership there belonged to a tribal group called Ts'anar, in Arabic al-Ṣanāriya.³

§ 2. *Elevation of Sahl*

The energetic Sahl ibn Sunbāt, who in the beginning of the 9th century played an important rôle in the affairs of Arrān, is mentioned both in the Armenian and Arabic sources, and though the records are patchy, they throw a vivid light on the march of events in Arrān.

The exact origin of Sahl⁴ is not explicitly stated. Thomas Artsruni, iii, § 11, calls him ruler of Shak'ē,⁵ and we must remember that the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, after having spoken of Shakkī, refers (§ 36, 32) to 'Sunbāt-mān, a town at the farther end of Shakkī, with a strong fortress'. The name *Sunbāt-mān* means 'Sunbāt's house' and is likely to refer to the home of Sahl's ancestors.

According to the Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 249–250), during the reign of king Archil II (668–718) three brothers, who had deprived of sight their uncle Adarnase-the-Blind, 'came from Taron to the country of Šakix . . . because all that country of the Caucasus in the neighbourhood of Ran (i.e. Arrān) had no masters. Heret' and Kakhet' had only a few inhabitants who had fled to the woods and the three brothers occupied the country down to Gulgula'.⁶ The

¹ It is quite possible that the Mihranids at times controlled the left bank of the Kur. Of one of their descendants Hamam (Grigor), son of Adernerseh (a contemporary of Muḥammad Afshīn, 889–901), Moses, iii, ch. 22 (trans. 278) says that he spread his sway 'on to the other side', i.e. apparently to the left bank of the Kur.

² The title has hardly any ecclesiastic connotation in this case.

³ This people is already mentioned by Ptolemy, viii, ch. 8, § 13, Σαπαρίοι. According to the ancient Armenian geography, the Darial pass was situated in their country, see *Hudūd*, pp. 400–2, but in the 9th and 10th centuries the centres of the Ts'anar/Ṣanār must have moved eastward to the region of the passes connecting Kakhetia with Daghestan, i.e. nearer to Shakkī.

⁴ His real Christian name is doubtful. *Sahl* seems to be an Arabic 'mask'.

⁵ See Minorsky, *Shakki* in *E.I.* (1926), and A. E. Krīmsky, *Sheki*, in the memorial volume *Pamyati N. Y. Marra*, 1938, 369–384. My teacher Krīmsky's article is very valuable for the number of sources consulted, but contains quite a few risky identifications.

⁶ In the Armenian version *Galgal*, possibly *Khalkhal*, on the right bank of the Kur, now Khilkhina, on the Dzegam river, some 60 km. west of Ganja. Cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, 272. Also Brosset, I/2., 49.

exact filiation of the brothers presents considerable difficulties¹ but, as between 700 and 800 we hear of no changes in Shakkī, we might assume *ex silentio* that Sahl sprang from this house. In fact, his designation as *ibn Sunbāt* (Moses Kalan. : *Smbatean*) may be his family name rather than a direct patronymic and point to the name of one of the three brothers (Smbat ?), or even to that of their father.²

Perhaps the earliest reference to Sahl is found in the 'History of Albania (Arrān)' of Moses Kaḷankatvats'i. In his enumeration of Albanian patriarchs (iii, ch. 23), he says that Ter-David (822–850; according to C. Dowsett, 821–849) blessed the unlawful marriage of the prince of Shak'ē and was cursed by his (own) brother. *Shak'ē* is definitely *Shakkī*, and the reference may be to Sahl at the early period of his life when he lived in his original fief.³

According to the Arabic *History of Sharvān* (§ 2), some time after 205/820, a revolt broke out in Shakkī, whose people killed the 'āmīl appointed by Khālid b. Yazīd.⁴ Ya'qūbī, ii, 579, writes that when Afshīn entered Azarbayjan (in 220/835, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1171) he appointed to Armenia Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Azdi al-Samarqandi. By that time Sahl b. Sunbāt had already revolted and seized Arrān (*qad khālafa . . . wa taghallaba*). He ambushed Muhammad at night and defeated him, cf. Balādhuri, 211. On the Armenian side, Moses Kaḷankatvats'i, iii, ch. 9, adds that towards the end of the Armenian year 270 (822–3) some Arabs from Partav (Barda'a) destroyed Amaras,⁵ took 1,000 prisoners, and fortified themselves in Mets-Arank' (on the Terter, upstream from Barda'a). 'Then the manly and handsome prince Sahl-i Smbatean⁶ Eranshahik, with his strong brothers and their troops, attacked them at dawn, scattered them and saved the prisoners' (tr. Patkanian, p. 266). To accomplish this feat, Sahl must have crossed over to the right bank of the Araxes and, if Khalkhal (see above, p. 506, n. 6) did form a dependency of his dominions, his task was rendered much easier.

The title *Eranshahik*,⁷ under which the historian of Albania presents him in

¹ Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 396, 416, *Südarmenien*, 292, thought that they were descendants of Grigor Mamikonean, who in 748 blinded the 'patrician' Ashot Bagratuni. J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 1919, p. 110, sees in them cousins of Ashot-the-Blind, who between 750 and 772 were expelled by Ashot's son and went to Georgia. Under the same reign the Georgian Chronicle speaks of a further immigration into Kakhetia and Šakix of some princes from Klarjet' (south-western Georgia).

² According to Vakhusht, the widow of a prince of some mountaineer tribes (T'ush, Khundz) was given by Archil to a prince of Šakix called Adarnase, see Brosset, i, 251.

³ Šakix is only an alternative form of Šak'ē. The reference to *Shako* (*Šak'ē) has been pointed out by A. E. Krīmsky, but he confuses Sahl b. Sunbāt with the Siunian Sahl (see below, p. 509, n. 2).

⁴ Apparently during the first term of office of Khālid, cf. Ya'qūbī, 566. I am quoting the 11th-century *History of Sharvān* according to the edition which I have prepared, cf. my *Studies*, 1953, p. 33.

⁵ The ancient residence of the catholicos of Albania, near the sources of the Khachen river, see Alishan in S. Orbelian, ii, 152.

⁶ Note the Persian construction with the patronymic *idāfat*.

⁷ Which must be understood only as a sublimation of the more modest local title *Aran-shahik*.

this passage, is probably given him in anticipation, for immediately after, and under the same year, Moses speaks of the murder of the last Mihranid Varaz-Trdad by a certain Ter-Nerseh P'ilippean.¹ We do not know whether the latter acted on behalf of Sahl, but Sahl surely profited by the crime, as he assumed the title of the victim. As Varaz-Trdad is called the *last* Mihranid,² it is clear that Sahl did not belong to that house.

About that time the Arab Sawāda (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jahhāfi) raided Siunia and the local ruler Vasak appealed for help to Bābak. The famous rebel responded to this call and married Vasak's daughter,³ but himself committed all kinds of excesses in Balk' and Geḷam (in 828), where he destroyed the great convent of Mak'enots'.

These names⁴ indicate how far his sway expanded between the Araxes and the Kur. The Muslim sources only indirectly hint at the facts which Moses Kalankatvats'i has recorded in great detail, and which throw a lurid light on Bābak's activities.

Bābak himself came to live in Amaras, but the Armenians continued the struggle and even defeated his lieutenant Rostom. In the course of these events Sahl's name is not mentioned, but under Mu'taṣim (218–227/833–842) he is definitely said to have revolted in *Arrān* (see above, Ya'qūbī, 579) and it appears that for a time the interests of Sahl and Bābak coincided. When in 222/837 Afshīn defeated Bābak and, across the dominions of the Armenian

¹ S. Orbelian (tr. Brosset, i, 95) calls him 'Ter-Nerseh, the *Siunian* (?), son of P'ilippe', though Moses who is Orbelian's source, says nothing about the origin of Nerseh. According to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 457, he was one of the (Arrānian ?) *batrīqs* whom Ya'qūbī, 562, mentions among the supporters of the governor appointed by Amīn, and who were opposing the new governor appointed by Ma'mūn (circa 198/813). cf. Brosset in Orbelian, i, 96, ii, 25.

² His widow fled to Khach'en (south of the Terter) and there married her daughter Spram to Atrnerseh, son of Sahl [*Sahak] 'head of the Siunians', see Moses Kalankatvats'i, iii, ch. 22 (see below, p. 522).

³ Ṭabarī, iii, 1221, refers to Bābak's wife who accompanied him on his flight as *ibnat al-Kalandāniya* (?). If an Armenian, she might have been useful to him in his dealings with her countrymen north of the Araxes, but it is difficult to identify her with Vasak's daughter, in view of Bābak's polygamous habits described by Ṭabarī himself, iii, 1223 (see below, p. 510).

⁴ But *not* 'Tavusin', as in Patkanian's translation, p. 268. C. Dowsett tells me that *Tavusin/Tosin* in some MSS. of M. Kalan. must stand for *Tōsi. In fact Ṭabarī, iii/2, 1099, says that in 211/826 Ma'mūn appointed Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsi to fight Bābak, and further, p. 1101, that on 26 (?) Rabī' I 214/3 June 829 Bābak killed him near Mt. Hashtād-sar and scattered his troops. After *Ṭūsi's defeat, Moses records another success of Bābak over *Abrahīm, son of Let'* (Dowsett). This man is surely Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth b. al-Faḍl السحي (the editor suggests **al-Tajībī* ?) whom Ma'mūn appointed to Azarbayjan in 209/824, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1072, and who later is referred to in the enumeration of the generals killed by Bābak. See Ṭabarī, iii, 1233 (year 223/837) where his name comes at the last place, after Zurayq b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa and Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsi, cf. I. Athir, vi, 275, 338. Among the coins which Khālid b. Yazīd struck in Armenia about 212–217/827–832 his name is associated with that of a certain *Ibrāhīm*, whose father's name cannot be read clearly. R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter*, Wien, 1931, p. 72, suggested that on the coin of 213 the name should be read: *Ibrāhīm b. Zayd*, and on those of 215 and 217: *Ibrāhīm b. 'Attāb*, whereas, in Tiesenhausen's idea, *ibn-Ghiyāth* or *ibn-'Ayān* should be read on all the coins. The absence of *al-* before these names stands in the way of their identification with Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth.

princes, Bābak tried to escape to the protection of the emperor Theophile, he sent a message to Sahl b. Sunbāṭ and the latter came out to meet him.

Ṭabari's report on Bābak's flight (iii, 1223, year 222/837) contains interesting details but does not indicate the exact route which he followed before reaching the mountains (*jibāl*) of Sahl b. Sunbāṭ. 'On meeting him Sahl recognized him, kissed his hand and said: "O Lord (*ya sayyidāh*) . . . there is no one worthier to receive you than myself. You know my place. I have nothing to do with the government (*sulṭān*) . . . You know what has happened to me and you know my country. All the *batrīqs* who are here are related to you, and children have been born to you from their (houses),"—(and this because, whenever Bābak heard of a pretty daughter or sister of a *batrīq*, he sent to him a request for her, and should he not send her, he visited him and took the girl together with the *batrīq*'s other belongings).' All this suggests that Sahl was established south of the Kur and had had personal relations with Bābak. While accepting the invitation to Sahl's castle (*ḥiṣn*), Bābak took the precaution of sending his brother 'Abdullāh to stay at a different place, namely with Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs.¹

Both the chiefs, who probably had sufficient grievances against their guests, surrendered them to Afshīn. For the signal service rendered, Sahl was highly honoured by the Arabs,² who forgot his previous misdeeds. In the additional passage inserted in some MSS. of Moses Kalan., iii, ch. 20, these facts are confirmed and it is said (with obvious exaggerations) that Sahl 'obtained sovereignty over Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, to rule authoritatively and royally over all'.³ He must have enjoyed his new position for some fifteen years for, according to Thomas Artsruni, iii, ch. 11 (tr. Brosset, 153): 'Sahl, son of Smbat, lord of Shak'ē, who captured Baban (Bābak),' was included in the great deportation of Armenian princes carried out by the general Bugha (in 854 ?), though in Ṭabari's list, iii, 1416, his name is replaced by that of his son Mu'āwiya b. Sahl b. Sunbāṭ (who once escorted the captive Bābak to Afshīn's camp).

§ 3. *Sahl's Successors*

After this there is a considerable gap in the history of the successors of Sahl until, in the beginning of the 10th century, we hear of the lord of Shakkī called Adarnasē (Ādharnarsē). To render the situation comprehensible we must survey very briefly the changed, but still chaotic, state of the country.

In the beginning of the 9th century a new dynasty, the Bagratids, became prominent in the affairs of Georgia (Kart'li). Bagrat, son of Ashot (826–876) joined Muḥammad b. Khālīd in the early operations against the amir of Tiflis, Ishaq b. Ismā'īl, and, at this price, survived the period when Bugha, having

¹ On him see below, p. 512.

² Ṭabari, iii, 1272: Sahl's son (Mu'āwiya) received 100,000 dirhams and he himself 1,000,000 dirhams, a gem-studded belt, and the title of *batrīq* with a tiara appertaining to it. Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs was possibly confirmed in his fief, see below, p. 512.

³ I owe this quotation to C. Dowsett (12th August, 1952).

occupied Tiflis (in 852), wrought havoc among the Christian (chiefly Armenian) princes suspected of opposition. The new and energetic dynasty of rulers appointed from Baghdad, the Sājids, subjected the Christian Caucasus to new trials. Between 902 and 914 Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj devastated both Armenia and Georgia, took Tiflis, and invaded upper Kakhetia. The Georgian Chronicle, with its typical legitimism, narrates the events under the phantom reigns of the main branch of the Bagratids of Kart'li. Thus under the reign of Adarnasē II (881–923), grandson of the above-mentioned Bagrat, it gives an account of the happenings in Kakhetia, see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 273–9. Some time after the execution of the Armenian king Smbat by Yūsuf (in A.D. 914),¹ the local king Kuirike invited the king of western Georgia ('Abkhaz') Constantine (then in occupation of Kart'li)² to take part in operations in Lower Kakhetia (Heret'i). The allies were besieging the fortress of Vejin, when 'the patrician Adarnasē' suddenly arrived on the spot, and by ceding to them three fortresses secured peace. Though according to Brosset, loc. cit., 277, note 3, 'the genealogy of this personage is unknown', it is very tempting to follow A. E. Krimsky in identifying him with that Ādharnasē b. Hammām³ whom Mas'ūdī mentions in Shakkī, for there was no other neighbour who might have encroached on Heret'i. The latter place has been specially mentioned in connexion with the domains of the 'three brothers' and it seems probable that this Adarnasē was a direct, or lateral, descendant of Sahl b. Sunbāt. Mas'ūdī wrote in 332/943 but, as in some other cases, he possibly used previous records, and this would settle the difficulty, if the period between *circa* 914 and 943 appeared too long for one reign.

The Georgian Chronicle (op. cit., 279) ends the chapter by saying that until the reign of Ishkhanik (an Armenian diminutive of *išxan* 'prince') all the inhabitants of Heret'i were heretics (apparently of Armenian creed), but this son of the Georgian princess Dinar converted them to (Greek) orthodoxy. The source is again silent on the relation of this new prince to the above-mentioned 'patrician Adarnasē' but it gives a precious synchronism by adding that his contemporaries in Barda'a and Azarbayjan were the 'salars', i.e. the Musāfirids. In fact in the list of feudatories of the Musāfirid Marzubān b. Muḥammad (dated 344/955), preserved in Ibn-Ḥauqal, 254, there is an 'Ishkhānīq, known as Abū 'Abd al-Malik, lord of Shakkī'.⁴ With Ishkhānīq

¹ i.e. *Smbat Nahatak*, Smbat-the-Martyr (890–914), killed by Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj; see Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 1947, 397–441.

² The dynasty of 'Abkhazia' was of local origin, with some Khazar parentage. Its family tree is given in the document called *Divan*, discovered by Taqaishvili, see *Jour. As.*, 1927, ccx, 357–368. The 'Abkhazian' dynasty ruled over the territories including Western Georgia, and even expanded into Eastern Georgia. In 978 the Georgian Bagratid Bagrat II, whose mother was an Abkhazian princess, succeeded to the throne of her ancestors, and thus united the state.

³ Vakhusht's witness, see above, p. 508, note 2, if true, might be taken as an indication of the persistence of the name Ādhar-Narsē in the family. The fact must still be borne in mind that there were *two* streams of immigrants into Kakhetia and Shakkī: from Taron and from Klarjet', see above, p. 508, n. 1.

⁴ See below, p. 521.

we reach the time of the events recorded in the *History of Sharvān*. The conversion of Ishkhāniq to orthodoxy was apparently a symptom of the growing influence of the Georgian neighbours, and it looks as if a radical change had taken place in the relations between Shakkī and Kakhetia. The latter seems to have absorbed the former, for in the *History of Sharvān* (under A.D. 1068) the title 'ruler of Shakkī' refers definitely to Aghsartan, ruler of Kakhetia.¹

§ 4. 'Īsā ibn-Iṣṭifānūs

It remains to say a few words about Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, whom we mentioned in the story of Bābak's extradition to Afshīn (year 837).² In the passage on his capture by Bugha (year 852), Ṭabarī calls him more explicitly 'Īsā b. Yūsuf b. ukht-Iṣṭifānūs, which apparently means a *nephew* of Iṣṭifānūs, born to Yūsuf of a sister of Iṣṭifānūs (less accurately *ibid.*, iii, 1228: 'Īsā b. Yūsuf b. Iṣṭifānūs). In fact, Moses Kalankatvats'i, ii, ch. 19, mentions 'Step'annos called Ablasad', who brought in Bābak against the 'Balakanians' (the people of Baylaqān?) and was killed in 828. The murderers, Davon and Shapuh, fortified themselves in Horoz and fought Bābak. For twelve years they ruled over a combination of districts of Arts'akh,³ until the dependants of Step'annos (?) murdered them and the 'peacefully minded' *nephew* of Step'annos, 'Isay, called Abu-Musē' recaptured the districts which Davon and Shapuh had seized and 'ruled over them all'. This is the man whom Ṭabarī calls 'Īsā ibn Iṣṭifānūs'. Step'annos brought in Bābak in 828; two years later Bābak defeated Ṭūsī and in the year after 'Abrahīm, son of Let', see p. 509, note 4. In the same year Step'annos was murdered and for twelve years his murderers held his districts. According to these indications, 'Īsā's succession took place about 841, i.e. after the liquidation of Bābak, and he must have remained in power for another thirteen years.

Thomas Artsruni (iii, § 10, tr. pp. 145–150) relates how, after a disastrous campaign against the Ts'anar, Bugha marched to Albania, 'the major part of which was ruled by Abu-Musē, known as the priest's son'.⁴ Then he describes the heroic resistance of Abu-Musē and his 'Albanians' to the caliph's troops (reinforced by some Armenian princes). Abu-Musē was victorious in 28 skirmishes and the siege of his fortress Xtiš (Ṭabarī: كتيش *K.thīsh*) lasted a year. Abu-Musē wrote to the caliph protesting against the attack (and, probably, referring to his own services in 837) and the caliph sent him a safe-conduct. He then went to Bugha's camp and was sent to Mesopotamia. The

¹ See my *Studies*, p. 30, 66.

² Brosset did not know his filiation. Grousset, p. 364, note 2, wrongly calls him 'son of Aternarseh of Western Siunia'.

³ Verin-Vaykunik', Berdzor, (Lesser) Sisakan, Haband, Amaras, Pazkank', Mxank', and Tri, of which the latter belongs to the province of Uti, and the others to Arts'ax—all of them situated in the basin of the Kur (and not of the Araxes).

⁴ Brosset suspects this qualification of being a tentative *translation* of Arabic Abū-Mūsā, which is hardly possible.

pivotal rôle of Abu-Musē is shown by the fact that his surrender was followed by the deportation of eight other princes.

Abul-Asad Step'annos's origin is unknown, though the fact is interesting that he invoked Bābak's help against those of Balak (or Balakan). I am tempted to connect this name with Arabic *Baylaqān*, i.e. the town which lay in the present-day Mil steppe¹ on the road from Varthān (now Altan, on the southern bank of the Araxes) to Barda'a (Partav). It had a very mixed population, known for its turbulence.² I feel the strength of C. Dowsett's objection when he writes to me that 'it is rather unexpected to find an Arabic form of the name in Armenian, when they have their own P'aytakaran'. However, I am not quite convinced of the philological identity of *P'aytakaran* with *Baylaqān* (*Bēlākān*), of which the former is the name of the province and the latter primarily the name of the town (though occasionally referring to its district). A later source (Orbelian, ch. 33, tr. i, 96) presents the events in a slightly different form: 'the people of the district of Balasakan [*sic*] refused to obey Baban (i.e. Bābak) and, with the assistance of the Albanian (Aḷovan) Ablasad, he mercilessly devastated the district and massacred even women and innocent children.' Orbelian's *Balasakan* (?) is probably a mistake, though it points to the same direction. In fact Balāsajān must have lain in the Mūqān steppe and the *Armenian Geography* quotes it under P'aytakaran, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 120.

Coming now to Abū Mūsā 'Īsā himself, we have to admit that he was rather remote from any princely house. Though his mother was a sister of Step'annos, his father, whom Ṭabarī calls Yūsuf, seems to have been a priest (see above, Thomas, p. 145). As the point of his resistance to Bugha was Xtiš, it is interesting to quote Ṭabarī's parallel indication, iii, 1416 (year 238/852), that 'Īsā b. Yūsuf was 'in the castle of K.thīsh, belonging to the *kūra* of Baylaqān and standing at a distance of 10 farsakhs from Baylaqān and of 15 farsakhs from Barda'a. Bugha fought him and conquered (his) castle, and carried him off, together with his father and his son'. The distances given by Ṭabarī point definitely to the region of the present-day Shusha (Shushi). It is characteristic that the castle is placed in the district of Baylaqān. Finally, according to Mas'ūdī, ii, 75, the Araxes flows between the country of Bābak (namely the region of Badhdhayn, on the southern bank) and 'the mountain of Abū-Mūsā', who can be only our 'Īsā. Mas'ūdī's text seems to indicate that this mountain (*jabal*) bordered on the river.

These details suggest that the nucleus of Abul-Asad's and Abū-Mūsā's possessions³ was particularly connected with the south-eastern corner of Albania, namely with the region of the left bank of the Araxes, where this river debouches from its gorges into the plains.

¹ Its ruins are known as Mil-i Baylaqan.

² See Minorsky and Cl. Cahen in *Jour. As.*, 1949, No. 1, pp. 286-336.

³ The original fief of Ibn-Ištifānūs might correspond to the still mysterious fief of *Khayzān*/*Jaydhān*, etc., referred to in I. Ḥauqal (see below, p. 525).

One further observation can be made. The tenor of Ṭabarī's narration might suggest that the castle of Sahl where Bābak went himself, and the dominions of Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, where he sent his brother, were contiguous. In his list of the deported notables, Ṭabarī, iii, 1416, quotes in the same breath Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs; Sunbāt b. Ashot called Abul-'Abbās al-Wāthī (?); Mu'āwiya b. Sahl b. Sunbāt, *batrīq* of Arrān; and Adhar-Narsē b. Iṣḥāq al-Khāshini (*of Khachen).¹ Consequently, we should assume that Khachen² formed a special enclave, though perhaps under the influence of Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs. If the latter possessed all the territories enumerated in Moses Kalankatvats'i, the dominions of Sahl must have lain nearer to the basin of the Kur.

II. The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān in 344/955

- § 1. The Musāfirid Marzubān and the 'Iranian interlude'.
- § 2. The vazir 'Alī b. Ja'far.
- § 3. I. Ḥauqal's passages on the Caucasus.
- § 4. Commentary.
- § 5. Conclusions.

§ 1. *Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir* (A.D. 941–957)

Bābak's revolt in northern Azarbayjan (820–837) was one of the fore-runners of a whole series of opposition movements which very soon, and especially in the following century, were to come to light on the Iranian plateau and its periphery.

For a long time, the attention of the historians (van Vloten, Wellhausen, Barthold) was attracted chiefly to 'Khorasan', until the publication of Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-Umam* projected a new light on the more westerly areas, whose destinies had remained somewhat hazy in Ibn al-Athir's conscientious epitome. The title given by Amedroz and Margoliouth to their excellent edition of Miskawayh, namely 'The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate', still reflects the traditional engrossment with the centre of the Islamic theocracy, whereas, with a more generous allowance for ethnology, economics, and human nature, an historian should give more attention to the awakening of more ancient traditions and to the emergence of entirely new elements which sapped the fabric of the caliphate.

The Būyid period looks now considerably more clear³ and, in its wake, we distinguish a growth of other political formations which sprang up in Kurdistan,

¹ Cf. Thomas Artsruni, p. 133: Atrnerseh, prince of Aļvank' > Arran.

² The river Khachen flows south of, and parallel to, the Terter on which stands Barda'a (Partav).

³ See now the 'Eclipse' with its annexes; Sayyid A. Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, 3 vols., 1928, 1929, 1930; Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, 1932; A. A. Dūri, *Studies in the economic life of Mesopotamia in the 10th century* (London University thesis, 1942) and its Arabic version *Ta'rīkh al-'Irāq al-iqtisādī fil-qarn al-rābi' al-hijrī*, Baghdad, 1367/1948; A. Ateğ, *Deylem in Islam Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 567–573; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 1952, pp. 100–6 (with a still insufficient appreciation of the 'Iranian interlude'). See also H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS.*, April, 1929, 226–245, and M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad* (356–447/967–1055) (London University thesis, 1953).

Azərbayjan, and Transcaucasia. Among them the minor star of the Musāfirids shone brightly for a short period. I have recently followed in the footsteps of my predecessors¹ to explore the further repercussions of the rise of this independent Daylamite dynasty² and, in the present instance, I wish to comment on an important document which has survived in the geographical work of Ibn Ḥauqal.³

It is a list of the tributaries of Marzubān ibn Muḥammad, with the amount of tribute they agreed to pay to Marzubān's treasury.

When, *circa* 330/941, Marzubān and his brother Vahsūdān imprisoned their father in the castle of Shīsakān (Sīsakān ?), Vahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Ṭarm (Tārom, on the middle course of the Safid-rūd), whereas Marzubān moved north and west into the area then controlled by the khārijite Kurd Daysam. Ardabīl (in eastern Azarbayjan) became Marzubān's capital but he crossed the Araxes and penetrated deep into Transcaucasia. We know that the great centre of the former Muslim administration Barda'a (Partav) was in his hands, for here he sustained in 332/943 a prolonged attack by the Russians, so dramatically described in Miskawayh, ii, 62–7. We now know also that his Daylamite garrison was in occupation of the other great centre, Dvin (before 337/948), and that up to 360/971 Ganja (*Janza*) was administered by his representative al-Tāzī.⁴

Ibn Ḥauqal's list reveals the far-flung system of border principalities reduced to the position of tribute-payers. Thus, for a time, the ephemeral Musāfirid organization acquired the proportions of a very sizable body politic.

§ 2. *The vazir 'Alī ibn-Ja'far*

No doubt the preparation of numerous arrangements for the payment of tribute required a long series of diplomatic and financial negotiations, and the credit for this achievement is attributed by Ibn Ḥauqal to Abul-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ja'far, on whose career we possess some information.

According to I. Ḥauqal, he was first employed by the Sājīd Yūsuf. Then (Miskawayh, ii, 31) he passed into the service of the khārijite Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, one of Yūsuf's generals, who succeeded the Sājīds and occupied the stage of Azarbayjan between 326/937 and 344/955 (with considerable interruptions).⁵ Miskawayh reveals the interesting fact that 'Alī b. Ja'far

¹ See Huart, 'Les Musāfirides', in *A Volume to E. G. Browne*, 1922, pp. 228–256; Sayyid A. Kasrawī, loc. cit., i, 1307/1928; Minorsky, 'Musāfirids', in *E.I.*

² See my *Studies*, 1953, pp. 158–166.

³ His work was completed in 367/977. The chronology of his peregrinations, as indicated by himself, is desultory: see Barthold, in his Introduction to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 20; cf. also Barthold's repeated references to the fact that in 358/969 Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 282, less clear on pp. 14 and 281) was in Gurgān.

⁴ See my *Studies*, p. 38.

⁵ The father of Daysam was an associate of the well-known Khārijite rebel Hārūn al-Shāri and, after his death, fled to Azarbayjan, where he married the daughter of a Kurdish chief. See Miskawayh, ii, 32. The said Hārūn (whom I. Mu'tazz surnamed 'the caliph of the Bedouins and Kurds') was active between 272/885 and 283/896, when he was captured by the caliph Mu'taqid, see Ṭabarī, iii, 2109, 2141, 2149–2151. cf. M. Canard, *Histoire des Ḥamdānides*, i, 1951, pp. 308–311.

was a *bāṭinī* preacher, and this circumstance may explain the intrigues of his enemies while he was serving his khārijite lord. In fear of Daysam, 'Alī b. Ja'far fled to Tārom, under the protection of Muḥammad b. Musāfir. But he arrived at the moment when Muḥammad's sons, Marzubān and Vahsūdān, revolted against him and occupied his capital Samīrān. Miskawayh has recorded these events under 330/941–2. 'Alī b. Ja'far incited Marzubān to conquer Azarbayjan, and Marzubān followed the advice of the crafty refugee the more readily as he himself was a *bāṭinī*. He allowed his new vazir to preach his doctrines openly. 'Alī wrote letters to those of Daysam's supporters whom he knew to be disaffected and, when the ground was sufficiently prepared, Marzubān marched against Daysam. Daysam's army went over to Marzubān, or fled, and Daysam himself escaped under the protection of the Armenian (Artsruni) princes of Vaspurakan (near Lake Van).

Marzubān seized Azarbayjan, but his relations with his vazir were soon poisoned by intriguers who pointed particularly to 'Alī's wealth. To thwart their designs, 'Alī played on Marzubān's greed by promises to subdue the great city of Tabrīz¹, and Marzubān sent him there together with some of his generals. Once established in Tabrīz, 'Alī hastened to patch things up with his old master Daysam. At his request he incited the townsmen to exterminate the Daylamites whom Marzubān had sent with him, and when this plan succeeded, he went over to Daysam. Now Marzubān regretted his discord with his co-religionist 'Alī. He besieged Tabrīz and, in the meantime, began secret negotiations with 'Alī, invoking the community of their creed and offering him the post of vazir. 'Alī modestly asked for a guarantee of his life and property alone. Having obtained it, he escaped from Tabrīz, and Marzubān kept his word. Miskawayh reports on all these events (ii, 31–5) under the year 330/941–2 but does not subsequently mention 'Alī b. Ja'far.

Many events happened during the following fourteen years, and great disturbances followed on Marzubān's unsuccessful march on Rayy and his captivity (Miskawayh, ii, 115, under 337/948). During his imprisonment, Daysam reappeared in Azarbayjan and several other chiefs became independent. The Būyid of Rayy, Rukn al-daula, intervened in the affairs of Azarbayjan and in 339/951 sent there the well-known *dihqān* of Tūs, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq, who 'grew weary of Azarbayjan' and returned to Rayy in 342/953.²

Only in 342/953–4 did Marzubān escape from his prison (Miskawayh, ii, 149) and restore his position. Before he died in Ramadan 346/Dec. 957 (Miskawayh, ii, 166) we hear of his operations against some rebels in the neighbourhood of Bāb al-abwāb (Darband). 'He settled his affairs and conquered his enemy,' and then returned to Azarbayjan to deal with Daysam. The khārijite chief fled again to his Armenian friends of Vaspurakan, but the latter

¹ Which probably depended on the Rawwādī family, see my *Studies*, 158.

² Miskawayh, ii, 119, 132, 135–6, 148 (omitted in Margoliouth's index). This is the famous *dihqān* of Tūs for whom the *Book of Kings* was translated from the Pahlavi. Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma* is based on this translation.

broke faith and surrendered him to Marzubān who is said to have put him to death. All these events are related by Miskawayh (ii, 161) under 344/955–6, and this is precisely the year quoted in I. Ḥauqal's text. I. Ḥauqal refers even to Daysam's extradition.

It looks then likely that, after Marzubān's escape, 'Alī b. Ja'far was restored in his position as vazir, and that the settlement with the tributaries was connected with Marzubān's expedition towards al-Bāb and the liquidation of Daysam.

§ 3. *Passages on Armenia and the Caucasus from Ibn Ḥauqal's Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*

Ibn Ḥauqal's text is full of difficulties and on some points of the first passage which I quote (A.) I consulted the greatest living authority on Arabic, M. William Marçais, who most kindly has sent me its full translation into French. I have decided to incorporate it in my text, mindless of the disadvantages of such neighbourhood for my own translation of the passages which follow.

A. (Kramers, p. 343; de Goeje, p. 245): 'La ville (et région) de Dvin appartenait autrefois à Sembat b. Achot, roi de toute l'Arménie, comme elle avait appartenu à ses ancêtres. Elle ne cessa pas d'être au pouvoir des chefs de cette famille jusqu'à ce que Abul-Qāsim Yūsuf le Šājide la leur enleva et l'arracha à leur domination, alors qu'ils avaient par devers eux des pactes remontant au premier siècle de l'hégire, consacrant leur maintien dans l'état (où les avait trouvés la conquête arabe), et l'obligation de payer la *jizya* conformément aux clauses du covenant par eux contracté (*muqāta'āt*). Omayyades et Abbasides les avaient maintenus dans leurs résidences, et percevaient d'eux les diverses catégories de contributions (*rusūm*) qui leur étaient imposées (*jibāyāt*). Yūsuf s'attaqua à eux et fit d'eux l'objet de ses entreprises.¹ Depuis lors, leur bonne fortune² d'autrefois cessa et nul redressement d'étendard n'est intervenu pour elle (له = لعذرهم) jusqu'à l'heure présente. C'est la religion chrétienne qui domine en Arménie. Sur les deux parties de ce pays,³ l'état suzerain (*sulṭān*) perçoit annuellement ce qui peut être assimilé au *kharāj*. Les Arméniens aujourd'hui encore seraient donc⁴ sous le régime d'un pacte (*ahd*) comme ils l'étaient antérieurement; mais d'un pacte, dont en réalité,

¹ Comp. I. Ḥauqal, p. 61, ll. 14–15: وقصدم العدو.

² I thought that *wa lā yuflīh ba'du 'udhruhum* (عذرهم) could be improved as **ba'da ghadrihim* عذرهم with the meaning: 'and he (Yūsuf) did not prosper after his treachery towards them and no banner was raised to help him (*ilayhi*) until to-day' (Yūsuf died in 315/927). However, M. Marçais writes: 'Je crois que le mot عذر est à conserver. Il n'a pas ici le sens de "excuse" mais celui de "réussite, bonne fortune", les lexicographes le glosent par le mot *nujh*.'

³ See the next paragraph.

⁴ كإهم théoriquement, du point de vue juridique.

les effets sont nuls, car les états voisins (*salātīn*) les attaquent,¹ font parmi eux des captifs, les maltraitent, et foulent aux pieds le devoir de les protéger. Les captifs faits parmi eux ne pouvaient être mis en vente comme esclaves à Bagdad et j'ai connu cet état de choses jusqu'à l'année 325/936, personne n'admettant le trafic comme licite en raison de leur qualité bien établie de protégés et de la pluralité des pactes (غير عهد) dont ils étaient détenteurs.'

'There are two Armenias, one called Inner, and the other Outer. In some parts of the Outer Armenia Muslims have towns which are in their hands, and the Muslims have ruled over them without interruption, (though sometimes?) the Armenians have been holding leases. (Such towns) belong to the kings of Islam, as is the case in Arjīsh, Manāzjird, and Khilāt.² The frontiers of the Outer Armenia are clear, the frontier in the east reaching Bardha'a; in the west, the Jazīra; in the south, Azarbayjan; and in the north, the districts of the Rūm on the side of Qālīqalā. This latter used to be a great march in the middle of the Rūm country, (as against) the people of Azarbayjan, the Jibāl (Media) and Rayy etc. And this is the city (capital) of the Inner (Armenia). It has (already) been stated that there are two Armenias, and the Inner Armenia consists of Dabīl (Dvin), Nashawā (Nakhchavan), Qālīqalā and what follows it in the north, whereas the Outer Armenia consists of Bergri, Khilāt, Arjīsh, Waṣṭān, al-Zawazān (Andzavatsik'), and the places, fortresses, districts, and provinces lying between them. (P. 344) And their access to the sea is at Trebizond . . .'

B. (K., 348, G., 250): 'There used to be imposed on most of these kings some sort of tribute (*darā'ib*) and additional (contributions), which every year were carried to the king of Azarbayjan—regularly (*sahlatan*), without interruption or hindrance—all of them (i.e. the Armenian kings) obeying him who was ruling (over Azarbayjan) and securing its prosperity.³

'Ibn Abil-Sāj contented himself now with a little, and now with a minimum by way of presents (*hadiya*) from them.⁴ But when this region (*mamlaka*) fell to the lot of Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir, known as Sallār, he instituted in it revenue offices (*dīwān*), surveys (*qānūn*), and the additional levies (*lawāzim*), while he discussed (*yukhātīb*) (the details of) "douceurs" (*marāfiq*), supplementary sums (*tawābi'*) and arrears.

'1. And the greatest of the kings (*malik*) of the region, so far as I could ascertain,⁵ is the sharvānshāh MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ.

'2. After him (geographically?) comes the king of LĀYZĀN, whose kingdom is adjacent to some part of Mt. Qabq, and his districts are known as Layzān-shāh [*sic*].

¹ J'ai eu un instant l'idée de lire تُطَرِّفُهُمْ (avec ف): 'leur font des invasions sur les bords de leur territoire' (de même تحييف originairement a le sens de 'ronger sur les bords') mais *tatarraqa* 'attaquer, envahir' est connu; et quant à *tataṭarraqu* > *tatarraqa* 'attaquer, envahir' il est courant: *fīrān min ta'āqub al-mithlayn*, c'est à dire 'par dissimulation'.

² On the Arab families settled north of Lake Van and belonging to the Qays tribe (with the exception of Bergri, which was originally held by the family of a certain 'Othmān), see Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 299–304, 501–8.

³ De Goeje, 250, adds 'the lords of these districts, who were kings of the marches (*atrāf*), were obeying the king (*malik*) of Azarbayjan, Armenia, and the two Arrāns'.

⁴ This is strange in comparison with the earlier passage, p. 517.

⁵ De Goeje omits this limitation, which might suggest that I. Ḥauqal did not visit the region.

‘ 3. After him follows ¹ the ŞANĀRIAN, known as Sanhārīb, who is a Christian by religion, similarly to

4. IBN AL-DAYRĀNĪ, the lord of al-Zawazān (Andzavatsik‘), Van, and Waštān.

‘ I shall explain the rank of each of these (kings or kingdoms), while mentioning what his obligations are and what is (additionally) imposed on him, by way of taxes in money (*māl*), tribute (*darība*), and presents—when (the time comes to explain) the revenue (*irtifā‘*) of the (whole) region, and when I have finished with the distances and (general) conditions.’

C. (K. 350, G. 252) . . . ‘ The road from Bardha‘a (de Goeje : *Barzanj*) to Dabil crosses Armenia,² and all the villages and towns on this stretch belong to the kingdom of the Armenian Sunbāt b. Ashōt, which was taken away from him by Yūsuf ibn Abil-Sāj (de Goeje : *Ibn Dīvdād*) by treachery and oppression, and contrary to the (commands) of God and his prophet which say . . . [Kramers’ edition quotes here the traditions concerning the strict duty of the Muslims to protect the *dhimmīs*].’

D. (K. 354, G. 254) : ‘ As regards the situation obtaining (in Armenia)—so far as I could ascertain—its contributions (*jibāyāt*) and the tributes imposed on the (vassal) kings of the marches (*mulūk al-aṭrāf*), clearly explain the position of the region and point to the correctness of its description. Although at times (the tribute) increased or decreased, the average of what was contributed and the highest standard of what was levied from (the region) in the year 344/955, by virtue of the agreements (*muwāqafāt*) which Abul-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, (a former) steward (*ṣāhib al-zimām*) of Abul-Qāsim Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj—effected on behalf of Marzubān b. Muḥammad, whose vazir he (later) was, were as follows :—

‘ 1. He (Marzubān) agreed with MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ, lord of SHARVĀN-SHĀH [*sic*] and its king, for a payment of 1,000,000 dirhams.

‘ 2. *ISHKHĀNĪQ,³ lord of SHAKKĪ, known as Abū ‘Abd al-Malik, also entered (*dakhala*) into an agreement with him.

‘ 3. He agreed with SANHĀRĪB, known as IBN-SAWĀDA, lord of AL-RUB‘ (?), for a sum of 300,000 dirhams, *plus* some additional offerings (*altāf*).

‘ 4. (Similarly) the lord of Jurz (?), VASHAQĀN (Vach‘agan ?) b. MŪSĀ—200,000 dirhams.

‘ 5. He agreed with ABUL-QĀSIM AL-WAYZŪRĪ, lord of Wayzūr (*Vayots‘-dzor) for 50,000 dīnārs *plus* offerings.

‘ 6. (Similarly) ABUL-HAYJĀ b. RAWWĀD, from his districts in Ahr and Varzuqān—50,000 dīnārs *plus* offerings.

‘ 7. (Similarly) ABUL-QĀSIM AL-JYDHĀNĪ from his districts and (on account of) the arrears (*baqāyā*) due from them—400,000 dirhams, but he wanted (this sum) to be diminished and was importunate in (his) begging ; therefore, in spiteful reaction (*tabarrum*) to his behaviour, the sum was increased by another 300,000 dirhams *plus* 100 cuts of Rūmī brocade.

¹ Instead of إليه I read *يليه .

² In fact, Muqaddasi, 382, describes the road from Barda‘a to Dabil across the Arrānian highlands (via Qalqātūs—i.e. Kaḷankatuk‘, the birthplace of the historian of Albania—M. trīs, D. mis, and Kīlkūnī, i.e. Geḷak‘uni). On Smbat’s expansion, see Grousset, loc. cit., 401, 419, but I. H. exaggerates his power, for since 893 the kingdom of Albania was restored under Hamam (see Asoljik (Macler), iii, ch. 3), and in Siunia Smbat met with resistance, see Grousset, loc. cit., 421.

³ Spelt : *ishjānīq* ; already de Goeje suggested *Ishkhānīq*.

‘ 8. He (Marzubān) bound over (*alzama*) the sons of AL-DAYRĀNĪ to pay according to the (previously) agreed (sum), 100,000 dirhams yearly, but exempted them from the payment for four years, in recompense for their having surrendered to him Daysam b. Shādhliya, who had sought their protection but whom they betrayed.

‘ 9. He agreed with the sons of SUNBĀṬ, with regard to their districts in INNER ARMENIA, for 2,000,000 dirhams (p. 355) but afterwards remitted 200,000 dirhams.

‘ 10. He agreed with SANHĀRĪB, lord of KHACHEN, for 100,000 dirhams, *plus* offerings and horses (to the value of) 50,000 dirhams.

‘ The tributes in gold and silver, with supplements (*tawābi*) and offerings consisting of mules, horses, and ornaments (*ḥuliyiy*) amounted to 10,000,000 dirhams.

‘ And the *kharāj* of the whole of Azarbayjan, Armenia and the two Arrāns, with their environs (*ḥawālī*),¹ together with the amounts of their taxes (reading *wa wujūh amwālīhā*) and the “douceurs”, amounted to 500,000 dinars.

‘ This is all that I have learned concerning the situation, and on which I had reports and statements, as much as my opportunities admitted and my understanding encompassed.’

§ 4. Commentary

As is known, Ibn Ḥauqal had undertaken to revise Iṣṭakhri’s book, but in his chapter on Armenia, Arrān, and Azarbayjan only the details on the towns and distances follow those of his predecessor. For the rest, the chapter is brought up to date and is based on entirely new material.²

It is doubtful whether Ibn Ḥauqal himself penetrated deep to the north of the Araxes.³ At the end of his chapter he refers to the *akhbār* ‘reports’ which he used. There is no doubt that these reports were of different dates and reflected different situations. In his description of the great market-centre Kūrsara (between Marāgha and Miyāna) he refers (K. 352) to what he heard from the ‘master of the merchants of Azarbayjan Abū-Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān of Shīz and Marāgha’ on the days of Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj. The curious pro-Armenian leanings noticeable in I. Ḥauqal’s text may be due to this source of his information. However, the severity of Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj towards the Armenians in passages **A.** and **C.** (which may date back to Yūsuf’s time) is in contradiction with his financial clemency described in passage **B.** The names of the principal Transcaucasian rulers (passage **B.**) do not tally with those in the list of Marzubān’s vassals (passage **D.**).⁴

¹ Perhaps **jawālī*, a term which I.Ḥ., 216, substitutes to *jizya* used by Iṣṭakhri, 156, in the corresponding passage on Fars.

² For comparison with the first passage of our translation I shall quote Iṣṭakhri, 188: ‘(In Armenia there ruled) Sunbāt b. Ashōt, and (Armenia) never ceased to remain in the hands of the seniors (*kubarā*) from among the Christians and these prevail (*ghālib*) over (among?) the inhabitants of Armenia.’ Only isolated words of Iṣṭakhri have survived in Ibn Ḥauqal’s expanded and original report (cf. K. 343).

³ He certainly visited the environs of Mt. Sabalan (near Ardabil), p. 249 (347).

⁴ In (**B.**) *Sharvān-shāh* is the prince and in (**D.**) his principality. Lāyzān is the present-day Lāhījān (west of Sharvān proper). According to the *History of Sharvān*, the Lāyzān branch of the Yazidi family had dispossessed the branch of Sharvān by 304/916; cf. Mas’ūdī, ii, 5, and it is characteristic that in (**D.**) (referring to 344/955) Lāyzān is no more mentioned. The Sanhārīb of Sanāriya also seems different from the two Sanhārībs in Marzubān’s list.

As regards the list of Marzubān's tributaries (D.), it cannot be taken for an original document from Marzubān's chancery; more probably someone versed in local affairs dictated the details of various financial agreements from memory. This would explain certain misunderstandings and omissions in our text, without detracting from the importance of this valuable estimate.

The list¹ presents numerous difficulties; the readings of some names are uncertain and the Christian tributaries are referred to with the current Arabic *kunya*, which disguise their identities and make it difficult to identify them with the persons known from Armenian sources.

1. The subjugation of SHARVĀN was a major achievement of Marzubān, by which his treasury secured a contribution second only to that promised by the Bagratids (see point 9.). *Sharvān* is the usual designation of the territory lying to the north of the Kur, which only in the 15th–16th century was renamed *Shīrvān*. The mistake (in D.) about *Sharvān-shāh* being the name of the kingdom and not of the king also occurs in Mas'ūdī, ii, 69. The prince who was ruling in Sharvān in 344/955 was Muḥammad b. Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad (337–345/948–956),² and he was succeeded by his son Aḥmad (345–370/956–981).

The ancient *History of Sharvān* (§ 9)³ mentions the invasion of Sharvān by the Daylamites under Muḥammad's father Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad, some time between 334/944 and 337/948, and he is said to have expelled them and made a peace and an alliance with them. Another invasion of Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān took place *circa* 357/968, when Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had to make peace with the attacker and offer him money. Consequently, the arrangement referred to by I. Ḥauqal *may* have been the result of the first invasion, but it seems to have been concluded under Muḥammad b. Yazīd, and possibly renewed under his son Aḥmad. The name in I. Ḥauqal (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad) does not fit into the detailed genealogy of the *sharvān-shāhs*, and more particularly the tribal appurtenance of the dynasty is wrong, for it should be *Shaybānī*, instead of *Azdī*. The latter may be a mistake for **Yazīdī*, as the family was generally known.⁴ This might be an instance of the mistakes resulting from dictation.

2. SHAKKĪ. Instead of the form اسحاس Ashās given in the first edition of I. Ḥauqal (de Goeje), the better manuscript used by Kramers in the second edition gives *Ishjānīq*, which can be easily restored as **Ishkhānīq*—a good Armenian name. His Arabic *kunya* Abū 'Abd al-Malik is of no importance for his nationality, in view of the general onomastic fashion of the age. The name does not fit into Mas'ūdī's indication (ii, 18) that, practically at the same time, the ruler of Shakkī was called Ādhar-Narsē.

The text is somewhat misleading. As the words *اشخانیق * مواقفته* ودخل فی

¹ Translated into modern Persian and partly commented upon by Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, i, 101. Cf. also Krīmsky, *Sheki*, pp. 377–8.

² According to Mas'ūdī, ii, 5, Muḥammad b. Yazīd was ruling already in 332/943.

³ See above, p. 508, n. 4.

⁴ Even their capital was called Yazīdiya.

follow immediately after the words *فواقف . . . صاحب شروان شاه*, one might be tempted to explain the passage as indicating that Ishkhānīq was a party to the agreement concluded with the *sharvānshāh*. This interpretation¹ is impossible for, as we now know from the *History of Sharvān*, Shakkī, separated from Sharvān by Qabala, was independent of Sharvān, and needed a special arrangement. Therefore the words *wa dakhala fī muwāqafatihi* are only a modified formula of *wa-wāqafa*, and the personal pronoun ('his agreement') must refer again to Marzubān. Consequently the sum of Ishkhānīq's contribution was left blank.

As shown by the *History of Sharvān*,² the contemporary use of the term *Shakkī* was vague. Following the vicissitudes of local struggles, it covered even some territories of Kakhetia. Moreover, the special territory of Heret'i, lying between Shakkī proper and Kakhetia, was not clearly distinguished by the Muslims.³

The name Ishkhānīq, as connected with Shakkī, evokes the memory of the prince Iṣṣanik of Heret'i, who was a contemporary of Marzubān (see above, p. 511).

3. The name of SANĦĀRĪB IBN SAWĀDA coincides with that of a Christian prince who must have lived about the middle of the 10th century.

The old pre-Islamic dynasty of Mihran which was ruling in Arrān (ancient *Albania*, Armenian *Alvanak'*) came to an end with prince Varaz-Trdat, who, together with his infant son, was assassinated in 822 by (his relative?) Nerseh P'ilippean. His widow took her daughter Spram to Khachen, where she married her to Atr-Narseh, son of Sahl (read: **Sahak*, as suggested by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 457). According to the local historian Moses Kalankatvats'i, the offspring of this couple took up the succession of the Mihranids. In the fifth generation, we meet Hovhannes, called Senek'erim, son of Iṣṣan-Savada, through whom, according to Moses, God wished to restore the long extinct kingship. 'The king of Persia conferred upon him great honours, gave him the crown of his own (?) father and his (?) steed. In the same year the Greek *magistros*, David, sent him the royal crown and a sumptuous purple . . .' The period of 131 years (from A.D. 822 to 953) is not too short for five generations, and it looks as if the 'king of Persia' who honoured SanĦārīb was precisely Marzubān, who used favours in exchange for tribute.

If the coincidence of the names guarantees the identification of the prince, the name of his kingdom remains a puzzle. *الربع* (with the Arabic article) looks like **Rub'* 'a quarter', or **Rab'* 'a territory, a custom-house'⁴ (see

¹ Accepted by A. E. Krimsky, and apparently by Spuler, *Iran in früh-islam. Zeit.*, 467.

² See my *Studies*, p. 32, and the chapter on Sharvān. Cf. my article 'Shakki', in *E.I.*

³ Except perhaps in an addition to Iṣṭakhri's text, 193a; see my commentary in *Hudūd*, p. 402.

⁴ The term *rub'* (plural *arbā'*), as a territorial unit, is used by Ibn Rusta, 171, who says that Nishāpūr has thirteen *rustāqs* and four *arbā'*, as against Muqaddasī, 300, who counts twelve *rustāqs* and four *khānāt*; cf. *Hudūd*, § 23, 1, and p. 325. [However, *rub'* can refer to the quarters of the town.]

de Goeje, iv, 224), but the bare skeleton of the name admits of manifold readings (*Rīgh*, *R.n.gh*, *Zīgh*, *Z.n.gh*). The same name occurs only in one other source, namely in Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil's 'Second *risāla*'.¹ This traveller (§ 15) reports that, on his way from Tiflis to Ardabil, he visited 'the mountains of Wayzūr, Qabān, Khājīn, حندان الربع and the two Badhdh'. With the exception of the last name, all the other names seem to refer to the highlands of Arrān separating the Kur from the Araxes.

Abū-Dulaf must have travelled *circa* A.D. 950 and this increases the interest of his evidence.

My first idea was to compare الربع with the name of the capital of Arrān برذعه (variant بردع, see Iṣṭakhrī, 182, note *g*). Abū-Dulaf could have copied the name from the same source, but, in all probability, his *risāla* was written before I. Ḥauqal had completed his work (in 367/977). We know, however, that at the time of the Russian invasion, in 332/943–4, Barda'a was governed by Marzubān's representative (Miskawayh, ii, 62), and it is unlikely that Marzubān would have left this key-town in the hands of a rather insignificant prince like Senek'erim.²

According to the historian Moses, Spram married 'Atr-narseh, son of Sahl (read : *Sahak ?), lord of Siunia, who had seized by force the canton of Geḷam',³ and whose residence was Tohak. In the record of the deportation of Armenian princes to Mesopotamia, Ṭabarī (III/2, 1416 : under 238/852) mentions 'Ādhar-Narsē b. Ishaq [*sic*] al-Khāshinī', and thus connects Senek'erim's putative ancestor with Khachen (see below, 10), but Ādhar-Narsē (and his family) may have still retained the region of Geḷam (Lake Sevan). For Moses, too, the restoration of the kingdom under Senek'erim may have taken place in the *dynastic*, and not in the *geographical* sense, and this would leave us some latitude in identifying the territory of Senek'erim. Abū-Dulaf—if he can be trusted—refers to الربع separately from Khājīn (Khachen), and, in this case, Senek'erim's fief might be looked for in Geḷam, though the final identification of **al-Rub*' should be left to the Armenian scholars on the spot (see also below, under 10.).

4. In the first edition of I. Ḥauqal, 254, there stood وصاحب جرزان وسغيان وبن موسى, and in my article 'Musāfirī' in *E.I.* I took **Jurzān wa Saḡhiyān* for

¹ Which at this moment I am publishing in Cairo after the unique MS. of the Mashhad sanctuary.

² Unless he was an entirely subjected ruler, with some independence in local and internal affairs. [Cf. *al-rāb* 'a custom-house'.]

³ Brosset, in his notes to Orbélian, ii, 24, contests his appurtenance to Siunia and prefers to take him for a scion of the Albanian house who encroached on the territory of Siunia ('*profita de quelque bonne occasion pour se caser en Siounie*'). Brosset's surmise suits well the illuminating identification of Ādhar-Narsē Khāshinī by Marquart. Moses himself is silent on the appurtenance of Khachen, but even if Spram's marriage was arranged with a prince *outside* Khachen, it is possible to imagine that, *after* the marriage, Khachen—undoubtedly friendly to the Mihranids—was included in the dominions of Spram and her husband.

the villages Gurzivān and Saghiyān (?), lying to the west of Shamākhi. However, the designation of the prince as 'Ibn-Mūsā', without his personal name, would be strange. The second edition gives وصاحب جرز وشقان بن موسى, which suggests the reading *VASHAQĀN b. MŪSĀ, i.e. probably *Vač'agan*, a name popular among the princes of Arrān.¹ But what of *J.rz* (which de Goeje restored as **J.rzān*)? Normally it would refer to Georgia (*Jurz*) but Marzubān never penetrated so far as Georgia, and **Vač'agan* is a non-Georgian name. As a mere surmise, one might think in our case not of جرز but of *خزر though not in its direct sense of the Khazar kingdom, but in the local use, as applied to the town of QABALA lying between Sharvān (*v.s.* 1.) and Shakkī (*v.s.* 2.). This was a place where Khazars were probably settled, for Balādhuri (194) says *wa madīna Qabala wa-hiya al-Khazar*.² This suggestion is purely tentative, but it would be strange if Qabala, mentioned by Mas'ūdī (ii, 68) as a separate principality, were unrepresented in I. Ḥauqal's document.

Mas'ūdī calls the prince of Qabala 'Anbasa-the-One-Eyed and the *History of Sharvān* refers to his son Ibn-'Anbasa. 'Anbasa ('the lion') is definitely only a nick-name, and the corollary of our surmise would be that his real name was **Vač'agan*, son of Mūsā, and that in some way he was connected with the princes of Arrān.

5. With Wayzūr we are on firm ground, for it is a usual Arabic form for the basin of the 'Lower Arpa-chay', which in Armenian was called VAYOTS'-DZOR (Const. Porphyrogenitus *Βαυτζώρ*: see Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, No. 111). About the middle of the 10th century its ruler was definitely connected with the Musāfirids (see my *Studies*, pp. 36, 69–70, where I suggest tentatively his identity with Vasak, son of Smbat, of the local Armenian dynasty of SIUNIA). For purposes of identification, the *kunya* Abul-Qāsim is worthless.

6. ABUL-HAYJĀ b. RAWWĀD is a well-known member of the originally Arab, and later Kurdicized, family, which, after the eclipse of the Musāfirids (*circa* 373/983), became the leading dynasty in Azarbayjan down to the Seljuk invasion.³ The capital of the Rawwādids was Tabrīz, but the early fief of the family comprised Ahr, and Ya'qūbī (*History*, pp. 446–7) avers that the governor Yazīd al-Muhallabī (about the middle of the 8th century A.D.) allotted to Rawwād b. al-Muthannā al-Azdī a tract of territory stretching from Tabrīz to al-Badhdh. The latter place, known as the residence of Bābak, lay in the

¹ This restoration was already proposed by Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, 1818, i, 231. He thought that this *Vač'agan* might be the son of the rebellious governor of Uti against whom Ashōt II, son of Smbat, led an expedition in 922. cf. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 451. St. Martin leaves, however, the name *Jurz/Khazar* in the air.

² According to the newly discovered Arabic text of Ibn A'tham, Jarrāh (appointed by Yazīd II, 101–5/720–4) reduced the people of *M.rghūma* (Tarqi?) and moved its population to the village of Ghassāniya in the rustāq of Qabala (see A. N. Kurat, in *Ankara Univer. D.T.C. fakult. dergisi*, 1949, p. 269).

³ See my *Studies*, p. 167.

neighbourhood of Mt. Hashtād-sar, on the eastern ridge of Qaraja-dagh, and Ahr (even now the capital of Qaraja-dagh) was certainly within this zone. The village of Varzaqān (Varzuqān) lies some 35 km. higher up on the river of Ahar.

7. The case of ABUL-QĀSIM JYDHĀNĪ (الجيداني) is similar to that recorded under 3. The other manuscript gives الجنداني (*J.ndānī*), which de Goeje restored as الخيزاني (**Khayzānī*). Abū-Dulaf undoubtedly refers to the same place under the name of حندان *H.ndān*, though this part of his report is still subject to caution. In most of the early Islamic writers, خيزان (Balādhuri, 204, 206–7), جيدان (Mas‘ūdī, ii, 7) and similar forms stand for خيداق *Khaydāq*, a Daghestanian people living immediately north of Darband. It is true that, under 344/955, Miskawayh (ii, 161) refers to some operations conducted by Marzubān ‘in the region of al-Bāb (i.e. Darband)’, but it is highly improbable that he could have reduced to vassalage a people beyond the ‘gate’ of Darband.

To the south of the Caucasian range, the existence of a *Khayzān* (*Jidān*, *Jandān* ?) is implied by I. Khurdādhbih (123–4), who tries to locate the story of Moses and the prophet Khidr (*Qor’ān*, xviii, 59–81) in Sharvān: ‘that rock is the rock of Sharvān, that sea is the sea of Gīlān; that village is the village of Bājarvān¹; and when they met the young man and he (Khidr) killed him, it was in the village of *Khayzān* (var. حيران, *Yāqūt*, iii, 252, خيزان)’. (Cf. also *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 90: *Khayzān*, *Chandān*.) The rock in question is possibly Besh-barmaq (standing some 70 km. north-west of Baku in the coastal region), near which lies the village of Khidr-Zinda.² A short distance to the west lies a village called Khizi, and one might compare this name with **Khayzān*, *Khīzān*. Nothing, however, is known of a sizable principality having ever existed in that region in Islamic times.

On the other hand, in Abū-Dulaf’s itinerary, حندان (which could easily be a mis-spelling of the name quoted by Ibn Ḥauqal) comes between Khachen and Bābak’s capital al-Badhdhayn³ and, provided the itinerary is not a fake, this place might be looked for on the left bank of the Araxes, somewhere in the present district of Jibrail.⁴

8. The ‘sons of al-Dayrānī’ are the rulers of VASPUKĀN (the region of

¹ Bājarvān ‘the bazaar place’ is a common name. The best known Bājarvān lay south of the Araxes on the way to Ardabil, but the legend may have in view some different place, nearer to Sharvān. The starting point for the strange location is the term *majma’ al-bahrayn* (*Qor’ān*, xviii, 59), ‘the junction of the two seas, or rivers,’ which the sages took to be the confluence of the Kur and Araxes, see I. Khurd., 175. Cf. Minorsky, *Mūkān* in *E.I.* (Supplement).

² This is a conspicuous landmark, and in 1948 a Latin inscription of Legio XII Fulminata was found in the same neighbourhood. See *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1950, No. 1, p. 177.

³ Which stood south of the Araxes, near Mt. Hashtād-sar (between the districts Hōrānd, Kalaybar, and Garmādūz).

⁴ Circa A.D. 835 we hear of a Christian prince in this region called ‘Īsā b. Yūsuf (or Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, because his mother was a sister of Iṣṭifānūs). On him and his dominions see above, p. 512, but I have not been able to trace his succession.

Van) of the Artsruni family. In 344/955 the ruling prince was Abū-Sahl Hamazasp (953–972), who succeeded his brother Derenik Ashot (937–953). Both were grandsons of Grigor Derenik (in Arabic *al-Dayrānī*) (874–886). The reference to the circumstances in which Daysam was extradited is a welcome detail in favour of I. Ḥauqal's accuracy.

9. The 'sons of Sunbāt' are certainly the ARMENIAN BAGRATIDS of Ani. Ibn Ḥauqal himself (passages **A.** and **C.**) refers to Smbat-the-Martyr (890–914), whose grandson Ashot the Merciful (*Olormadz*) was ruler in 952–977. The sum which the Bagratids agreed to pay, and which was lowered by 10 per cent of the amount originally stipulated, was most probably only security money which the Bagratids paid to ward off Daylamite inroads. From the *History of Sharvān* (see my *Studies*, pp. 10–11) we know that Marzubān kept a Daylamite garrison in Dvin and that Ashot made an unsuccessful attempt to take the town.

10. *Khājīn* is a good transcription of KHACHEN (Arm. *Xač'enk'*), independent from Ṭabari, who calls it *Khāshīn*.

Professor I. A. Orbeli¹ writes that the old principality of Siunik' collapsed in 1166. 'At this time begins the elevation of the small principality of Arts'ax, or *Xač'en*. This latter name was possibly derived from the name of a fortress. The centre of the principality, which was apparently a part of the ancient Albania (Alvank'), was the basin of the *Xač'ena-jur* (now *Khachin-chay*) and partly that of the *T'art'ar* (now *Terter*). This region belongs to the territory of the present-day district of *Javanshir*. In the present state of the historical geography of Armenia, it is almost impossible to indicate its frontiers, because, in the course of almost perpetual wars, the frontiers were moved very often.'

To this statement one has to add that the Islamic sources clearly hint at the existence of a special fief-holder of Khachen already in the 10th century.

Under 3. we have discussed the identity of Sanḥārīb, son of Sawāda, whose characteristic name is a strong clue to his identity. We know that the widow of the last Mihranid married her daughter Spram to the ancestor of Sanḥārīb in Khachen. He is said to have been of the branch of the Siunian (?) house and to have seized *Geḷam*, but Khachen apparently also belonged to him.² And yet in 10. we hear of another (?) Sanḥārīb of Khachen who paid a smaller sum of tribute to Marzubān. One is tempted to assume that I. Ḥauqal, in his hurriedly taken notes (cf. 1.), reported twice on the same prince. In view of the difference in the tribute, one might surmise that one single tributary was paying for two different fiefs (*Geḷam* (?) and Khachen).

The inclusion of horses in the tribute of Khachen must be connected with the excellence of the Qarabagh breed. In the 13th century the husband of Queen T'amar of Georgia, David Soslan, gave the fortress of Jarmanam and one village for a steed which he acquired from Vakhtang of Khachen (see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 441).

¹ In his article 'Hasan Jalal, knyaz Khachensky', in *Izvestiya Imper. Akad. nauk*, 1909, p. 405.

² Unless he happened to be there on a visit at the time of his bride's arrival. See above, p. 522.

§ 5. *Conclusions*(A) *Technical Terms.*

The technicalities of Islamic taxation are still insufficiently known and the translation of the financial terms used by I. Ḥauqal can be only tentative. I have quoted the original terms used by I. Ḥauqal and for their translation I have used the experience of the editors of similar texts (de Goeje's index to *B.G.A.*, iv; index to Ṭabari; the list of terms quoted by Amedroz in his edition of Hilāl al-Šābī's *Kitāb al-wuzarā*).

- (a) *alzama*—'solvere coegit, solvendum imposuit' (Ṭabari).
- (b) *amwāl*—'revenue (probably in cash)'; de Goeje, iv, 357: 'reditus'.
- (c) *altāf*—'offerings, douceurs'.
- (d) *darība*—according to de Goeje, iv, 285, is not properly 'revenue' (reditus) but rather 'tribute', because it can be paid in various ways—for example, in customs duties ('de variis rebus solvitur, speciatim portorium').
- (e) *dīvān*—'revenue office'.
- (f) *jibāyāt*—de Goeje, iv, 202, suggests 'tributum non canonicum', and Ṭabari: *jabā, ijtabā* 'tributum exegit'. I translate the term by a less definite 'contributions'.
- (g) *jizya* is the poll-tax paid by non-Muslims, and its amount was apparently fixed by special agreements expressed in leases (see below *muqāṭa'āt*).
- (h) *lawāzim*—'additional levies'; de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, iii, 348: 'varia alia tributa'.
- (i) *muqāṭa'a*—'a lease', by which the suzerain confirms someone in his principality, subject to the yearly payment of the poll-tax; de Goeje, iii, 329: 'pactum cum aliquo iniit, quo concedit ei principatum suae regionis servare, conditione ut quotannis censum capitis sive aliud tributum solveret'. I do not think that in our case the term is used in the strictly technical sense, as in I.H., 216 (K. 302): *al-qawānīn allātī hiya al-muqāṭa'āt*, meaning 'a fixed sum of taxes evaluated according to a standard value ('ibra) per lunar year'. Cf. Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqṭā*, in *Annales* (L. Febvre), 1953, pp. 29 and 46, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 1953, p. 33.
- (j) *marāfiq*—'douceurs'; de Goeje, iv, 349: 'emolumenta, tributa diversa non canonica'.
- (k) *muwāqafāt*—(restored by Kramers, possibly following Dozy, instead of *muwāfaqāt*) has a meaning similar to *muqāṭa'āt*, though the latter seems to stress the element of investiture, whereas the former stresses the financial conditions established by the parties.
- (l) *rusūm* seems to be used in the sense of the sums usually collected, 'dues'. De Goeje, iv, 246, equates it with 'tribute'.
- (m) *qānūn*—'survey of landed property and revenue based on it'; de Goeje, vi, 333: 'census soli si quotannis fixa pecuniae summa solvenda est'.
- (n) *tawābi'*—'supplements'. Ṭabari: *tawābi' al-kharāj* 'incrementa tributi, quod at tributum accedit'. Possibly also the percentage added for the benefit of the agents collecting the tribute (*mu'āmara*, Hilāl).

(B) *Amount of Payments.*

Only for Vaspurakan does I. Ḥauqal clearly explain that the tribute was paid every year but, as admitted by de Goeje, the payment of all the tributes

was also on an annual basis. Converting the dinars (quoted under Vayots-Dzor and Ahr) into dirhams (at the rate of 1 dinar = 15 dirhams, see Qudāma, 249)¹ we have :—

Sharvān ²	.	.	.	1,000,000
Shakkī	.	.	.	?
al-Rub'	.	.	.	300,000
Qabala (?)	.	.	.	200,000
Vayots-Dzor	.	.	.	500,000
Ahr and Varzaqān	.	.	.	750,000
Jaydhān (Khayzān ?)	.	.	.	750,000
Vasपुरakan	.	.	.	100,000
Bagratids	.	.	.	2,000,000
Khachen	.	.	.	100,000
				5,750,000 dirhams ³

Even with the lacuna of Shakkī and the addition of the occasional offerings, we are very far from 10 m. dirhams, which I. Ḥauqal gives as the total of Marzubān's revenue. It is possible then that the list of the tributaries is not quite complete, or that it includes the *kharāj* paid by his direct subjects. My final impression is that the amount of 'tributes' should be separated from the amount of the *kharāj*.

As regards the ' *kharāj* for Arrān, Armenia, and Azarbayjan ', evaluated at 500,000 dinars (i.e. 7.5 m. dirhams), this item added at the end of passage **D**. seems to refer to the time when the three provinces were ruled by governors appointed directly from Baghdad.

According to Qudāma, the average revenue (*irtifā'*) of Azarbayjan⁴ was 4.5 m. dirhams, and of Armenia (including Arrān)⁵ 4 m. dirhams—totalling 8.5 m. dirhams, a sum approaching that of I. Ḥauqal. Qudāma is supposed to have composed his book shortly after 316/928 (see de Goeje's Preface, p. x) but, according to von Kremer, his data go back to a much earlier time (*circa* 204/819),⁶ and the well-known later budget (of 306/918) gives an

¹ Also Miskawayh, ii, 34, for the year 332/943 ; I. Ḥauqal, 146 (K. 218), for the year 358/968. cf. A. Dūrī, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, 222.

² Malik-shah (1072–1092) tried to obtain from the sharvan-shah Farīburz 70,000 dinars, but the contribution gradually dwindled to 40,000, see Bundārī, 140. According to Nasawī, 160, 175, the original sum was 100,000 dinars, but in 622/1225 the khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-dīn requested the sharvān-shāh to pay 50,000, and then further reduced this sum by 20,000 dinars. The real value of these nominal sums is difficult to ascertain in view of the silver crisis of the 12th century, see E. Pakhomov, *Moneti Gruzii*, 1910, pp. 79, 118.

³ According to Barthold's estimate of 4 dirhams = 1 rouble, this would give 1,437,500 roubles, or over £140,000 (at the pre-1914 rates).

⁴ Qudāma, 244, enumerates its provinces : Ardabil, Jābarvān (apparently the region to the south of Lake Urmiya) and Warthān (on the Araxes), adding that its capital is Bardha'a. Ya'qūbī, in his Geography, *BGA.*, vii, 274, puts the *kharāj* of Azarbayjan at 4 m. dirhams.

⁵ Qudāma, 246, enumerates its provinces : Jurzān (Georgia), Dabil (Dvin), Barzand, Sirāj-Ṭayr (Shirak and Taik'), Bājunays (Bznunik'), Arjish, Khilāt, Sisajān (Siunik'), Arān, Qāliqālā (Erzerum), Basfurrajān (Vasपुरakan)—with its capital at Nashawā (Nakhchavan).

⁶ See Qudāma, 236, line 20. Cf. also the unusual indication concerning the administrative centres (*qasaba*) of Azarbayjan—at Bardha'a, and of Armenia—at Nakhchavan.

impression of considerable recession (*Verfall*) of income. In practice the revenue must have greatly depended on circumstances. When in 296/908 Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj was confirmed in his governorship,¹ the sum of his farm was fixed at only 120,000 dinars (1·8 m. dirhams), and already towards 299/912 Yūsuf tried to evade even this reduced responsibility.

In any case, I. Ḥauqal's item on the general revenue must belong to a source entirely different from that of his data at the time of Marzubān.

(C) *General Interest of the Passages.*

1. Though admitting that the list is not the original document, but possibly a series of items communicated, or even dictated, to our geographer, one should consider it as a valuable picture of the political structure of a region on which we are insufficiently informed.

2. In view of the great scarcity of financial statistics for the 10th century, I. Ḥauqal's data merit attention both as an illustration of the politico-financial methods and as material for assessing the comparative importance of the principalities.²

3. It is hoped that our identifications will be of utility to local historians working on Christian sources. The figures of Ishkhānīq of Shakkī and of Sanḥārib, son of Sawāda, seem to fit into the pattern of the Georgian and Armenian sources.

Incidentally, our analysis is a preparatory work for the publication of the 11th-century *History of Sharvan*.³

¹ According to Ṭabarī, iii, 2284: 'of Marāgha and Azarbayjan'; according to I. Athīr, viii, 42, also 'of Armenia'. cf. von Kremer, *Das Einnahmebudget vom Jahre 306 H.*, 1887, 299.

² In his chapter on taxation Spuler, loc. cit., 467, has quoted I. Ḥauqal's table only for the tribute of Sharvān. Ghazarian's reference to I. H.'s passage is incomplete, see his 'Armenien unter d. arab. Herrschaft' in *Zeit. f. arm. Philologie*, 1903, ii/3, p. 205.

³ See above, p. 508, n. 4. The chapters on Sharvān and al-Bāb complete the chapter on the Shaddādids of Ganja published in my *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953.